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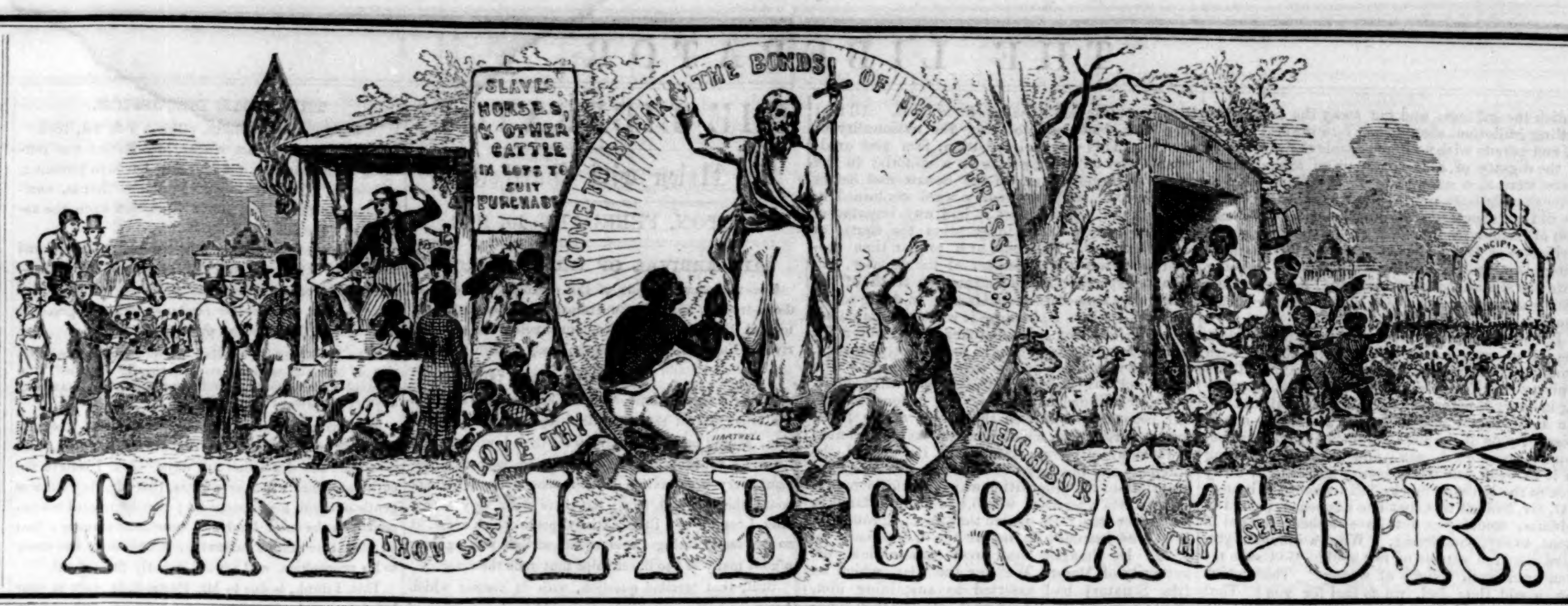

No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

☞ 'Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions TO SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons . . . . . in fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed! . . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'—*John Quincy Adams.*

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. | Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. | J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

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SELECTIONS.

SPEECH OF GERRIT SMITH, ON WAR,

Delivered in the U. S. House of Representatives, Jan. 18th, 1854.

The House then took up 'the bill making appropriation for the support of the Military Academy for the year ending June 30, 1855.'

MR. SMITH, of New York. I propose, Mr. Speaker, to make some remarks on this bill.

MR. JONES, of Tennessee. I think that the previous question was called on the bill, last evening.

MR. SMITH. I think not.

MR. CLINGMAN, of North Carolina. If the previous question was called, I object to the gentleman's proceeding to make any remarks.

MR. SPEAKER. The Clerk informed the Chair that the previous question was not called, last evening.

MR. SMITH. I believe, Sir, in the progress of the human race. I delight to dwell upon the idea of an ever-growing civilization. Hence it is, that I am afflicted at every demonstration of the war spirit. For the spirit of war is the spirit of barbarism; and, notwithstanding the general impression to the contrary, war is the mightiest of all the hindrances to the progress of civilization. But the spirit of this bill is the dark, barbarous, baleful spirit of war; and, therefore, would I use all honorable means to defeat the bill.

It is strange—it is sad—that, in a nation, professing faith in the Prince of Peace, the war spirit should be so rampant; that, in such a nation, there should be any manifestation whatever of this spirit, is grossly inconsistent.

'My voice is still for war,' are words ascribed to a celebrated Roman. But, as he was a pagan, and lived more than a thousand years ago, it is not strange that he was for war. But, that we, who have a more than two thousand years' longer retrospect of the horrors of war than he had—that we, who, instead of but a pagan sense of right and wrong, have, or at least have the means of having, a Christian sense of right and wrong—that we should be for war, is, indeed, passing strange.

How vast, incomprehensibly vast, the loss of life by war! There are various estimates of this loss.

MR. ORR, of South Carolina. I rise to a question of order.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is of opinion, that the gentleman from New York is in order.

MR. SMITH. I presumed that the Speaker would so decide.

I was saying, Sir, when interrupted by the gentleman from South Carolina, [Mr. Orr,] that there are various estimates of the loss of life by war. Burke's estimate, if my recollection is right, is, that thirty-five thousand millions of persons have perished by war; that is some thirty-five times as many as the whole present population of the earth. In Bible language: 'Who slew all these?' War slew them. And, when contemplating this vast slaughter, how natural to inquire in other words of that blessed book, 'Shall the sword devour forever?'

And how immense the loss of property by war! The annual cost of the war system to Europe alone, including interest on her war debt, exceeds a thousand millions of dollars. The Government of our own nation has expended, on account of the army and fortifications, more than five hundred millions of dollars; and, on account of the navy and its operations, more than half that sum. But to ascertain the whole loss of property, which this nation has suffered by war, we must take into the reckoning many other items; and, especially, the cost of the militia. Now, this last item, not according to mere conjecture, but according to the computation of those capable of making it, is fifteen hundred millions of dollars. Add, then, to what our nation has paid for war, and to her loss of property by war, the interest on these payments and losses, and you have an aggregate equalling a large share of the whole present wealth of the nation.

And, just here, Sir, I would say a few words on national debts. As such debts are, in the main, war debts, there can be no assignable limit to their accumulation, so long as war is thought to be necessary—for, so long, there will be wars—and, until war is abandoned, it will be held to be unjust and dishonorable to repudiate war debts, no matter how crushing, and increasingly crushing, from age to age, may be the burden of such debts. So commanding is the influence of war, and so worldwide and mighty the sentiment which it has been able to create in favor of itself, that no debts are deemed more sacred and obligatory than war debts. And yet, so far from such debts being, in truth, sacred and obligatory, there is the most urgent and imperative duty to repudiate them. No doctrine should be more indignantly scouted than the doctrine that one generation may anticipate and waste the earnings and wealth of another generation. Nothing is plainer than that the great impartial Father of us all would have every generation enter upon its course, unmortgaged and unloaded by prior generations. Nothing is plainer than that in those States of Europe, where the war debt is so great, that the very life-blood of the masses must be squeezed out to pay the annual interest upon it, repudiation must take place, ere those masses can rise into even a tolerable existence. It is a very common remark, at the present time, that Europe needs a revolution. She does need a revolution. But she needs repudiation more. However, there never will be a decided and wholesome revolution in Europe, that does not involve repudiation. If a people, on whom the wars and crimes of past generations have entailed an overwhelming burden of debt, shall achieve a revolution, of which repudiation is not a part, their labor and sacrifice will be lost—their revolution will be spurious and vain. To say that the people of England and Holland, where the war debt is so great as to make the average share of each one of them, both children and adults, between two and three hundred dollars—

MR. ORR, (interrupting.) I rise to a question of order. I desire to know whether the point which the gentleman is now making about the debts of England and Holland, is in order.

SEVERAL MEMBERS. 'Certainly!' 'Certainly!'

MR. SMITH. I am insisting, that, where war is carried on, there will be war debts; and that where there are war debts, there will be the temptation, (and a temptation which should be yielded to,) to repudiate them.

The SPEAKER. The bill before the House is to meet the expenses of the West Point Military Academy. The gentleman from New York is disposed to strangle, if I may use the expression, the supplies for that purpose. The bill brings up the whole character of the thing as connected with war matters. The Chair decides that the gentleman's remarks are in order.

MR. SMITH, (resuming.) I was about to say, when interrupted, that it is absurd to claim that the people of England and Holland are morally bound to continue to dig from the earth, and to produce by other forms of toil, the means for paying the interest on their enormous war debt. They are morally bound to refuse to pay both interest and principal. They are morally bound to break loose from this load, and to drag it no longer. For, so long as they drag it, they cannot exercise the rights of manhood, nor enjoy the blessings, nor fulfill the high purposes of human existence. Is it said, that the Government, for whose wars they are now paying, would have been overthrown but for these wars? I answer, that the Government which involved its subjects in those wars, was the greatest curse of those subjects, and is the greatest curse of their successors. The maintenance of such a Government is loss. Its overthrow is gain.

I do not deny that the case is possible, in which a generation would be morally bound to assume the debt created by its predecessor. But, even then, such generation should be the sole judge of its obligation to assume the debt. Were the cholera raging over the whole length and breadth of our land, and sweeping off millions of our people; and were a foreign nation to minister to our relief by lending us money; if we could not repay the loan, our successors should: and such a loan they would be glad to repay.

I would incidentally remark, that Civil Government will be neither honest nor frugal, so long as the practice of war is continued. I say so, for the reason that the extensive means necessary to carry on wars, or pay war debts, cannot be obtained by direct taxation. The people will consent to their being obtained only by indirect taxation: and no Government ever was, or ever will be, either honest or frugal, whose expenses are defrayed by indirect taxation; for no Government, whose expenses are thus defrayed, ever was, or ever will be, held to a strict responsibility by the people; and no Government, not held to such responsibility, ever was, or ever will be, either honest or frugal.

I have referred to the loss of life and property by war—of life, that is so precious—of property, that is so indispensable to the enjoyment and usefulness of life. But there is an unspeakably greater loss than this, with which war is chargeable. I refer to the damage which morals and religion suffer from it. All I need add, on this point, is, that the power of war to demoralize the world, and to corrupt the purest religion in the world, is abundantly manifest in the fact, that the moral and religious sense of even good men is not shocked by war. No stronger argument can be brought against war, than the fact of its power to conform the morals and religion of the world to war.

It would, perhaps, be wrong to ascribe the continuance of war to the low and perverted state of the moral and religious sense. It would, perhaps, be more proper to ascribe it to the prevailing delusion, that war is unavoidable. And yet, it may be, that a better state of the moral and religious sense would have entirely prevented this delusion. But, however this delusion may be accounted for, or whatever may be responsible for it, it is consoling to know that it is not so well nigh impossible to dispel it as is generally supposed. A fresh baptism of wisdom and goodness may, perhaps, be needed to that end: but no new faculties, and not a new birth. Nay, were we to apply to the subject of war no more than our present stock of good sense and good feeling—no more than our mental and moral faculties, as they are now—it is probable that war could not long withstand the application.

The doctrine that war is a necessity, is the greatest of all libels on man. The confidence which, in private life, we manifest to each other, proves that it is such a libel. We walk the streets unarmed. We go to bed without fear and without unlocked doors; and we thus prove that we regard our fellow-men as our friends, and not our foes—as disposed to protect, and not to harm us. It is true that there is, here and there, one that would rob us; and, at very far wider intervals, one that would kill us. But we are at rest in the consciousness, that where there is one to assail us, there are a hundred to defend us. Indeed, society could not be held together, were it not true that the generality of men are swayed by love, and confidence, and generosity, existing either in their own hearts, or accorded by them to others. The men who are swayed by distrust and hatred constitute the exceptional cases.

Have I, then, an evil-minded neighbor? I, nevertheless, need not fight with him. I may rely, under God, upon the mass of my neighbors to protect me against him. So, too, if there is, here and there, a malicious American, and here and there a malicious Englishman, who would be guilty of involving their countries in a war with each other; nevertheless, the mass of Americans and Englishmen, inasmuch as they prefer international amity to international quarrels, should be relied on to preserve peace: and they would preserve it, if so relied on. Now, it is in this point of view that the nation, which is determined to keep out of war, will never find itself involved in war; and that nothing is hazarded by adopting the peace policy. I add, that as it is not in human nature, under its ordinary influences, and in its ordinary circumstances, to fall upon an unarmed and unresisting man, so the nation, which puts its trust, not in weapons of war, but in the fraternal affections of the human heart, and in the God who planted those affections there, will find this trust an effectual shield from the horrors of war. Such a shield did the good men, who, founded Pennsylvania, find this trust. During the seventy years of this trust, there was no blood shed in their Province. These good men subdued even the savage heart, simply by trusting that heart. These good men, by refusing to carry deadly weapons themselves, shamed even savages out of carrying them. And were America now to disarm herself, even to the extent of abandoning the policy and practice of war, and were she to cast herself for protection on the world's heart, she would find that heart worthy of being so trusted. The other nations of the earth would not only be ashamed to take advantage of her disarmament, but they would love their confiding sister too well to do so. Nay, more. Instead of making her exposed condition an occasion for their malevolence, they would be moved to reciprocate the confidence expressed by that condition, and to disarm themselves.

I have already admitted, that there are persons who would wrong us—who would even plunder and kill us. I now admit that Government is bound to provide against them. If, on the one hand, I protest against stamping the masses with the desperate character of these rare individuals, on the other, I admit that we are to guard against these rare individuals. But, to argue that because of the existence of these rare individuals in France, or England, or any other nation, the nation itself is necessarily disposed to make war upon us, is to make the exceptions to the rule, instead of the rule itself, the basis of the argument.

Whilst, for the reason that I believe that there is no need of war, I believe there is no need of making preparation against it, I, nevertheless, admit that there is need of Government, of prisons, and of an armed police. Whilst I hold that a nation, whose Government is just in all its dealings with its own subjects and with foreigners and which so far confides in, and honors human nature, as to trust that even nations are capable of the reciprocations of justice—ay, and the reciprocations of love also—I say, whilst I hold that such a nation needs to make no provision against war, I still admit that it is bound, in common with every other nation, to have ever in readiness, both on sea and land, a considerable armed force, to be wielded as occasions may require, against the *hostes humani generis*—the enemies of the human race—the pirates, that, both on land and sea, 'lurk privily for the innocent prey.'

But what shall be the character—the intellectual and moral character—of the men proper to compose this armed force? No other question in this discussion is so important; and, perhaps, in the whole range of earthly interests, there is not a more important question. The answer which I shall give to this question, is a very novel one: so novel, indeed, that were I not irresistibly impressed with its truth and value, I should not venture to give it.

The punishment of its own offending citizens is, confessedly, regarded as being, in all its stages, a most solemn and responsible duty. Laws to this end are enacted with considerateness and solemnity. It is claimed, that none but wise and just men are fit to enact them. Judges and jurors are considerate and solemn in applying the laws; and none but the upright and intelligent are allowed to be suitable persons for judges and jurors. All this is indispensable to maintain the moral influence and the majesty of the laws. But how fatally would this majesty be dishonored, and this moral influence be broken, if all this propriety and all this consistency were, then, to be followed up with the gross impropriety and gross inconsistency of committing the execution of the verdict or decree of the court-room to the hands of the profligate and base! Most clear is it, that the turnkey and hangman should not fall below the law-maker or judge, in dignity and excellence of character. I am aware that it was once thought that the vilest man in the community was the most appropriate man for hangman. But sounder thinking requires that the hangman, if there must be a hangman, should be one of the noblest and holiest of men.

Such is my argument—and, I trust, it is a conclusive one—in favor of a solemn and dignified execution of the laws of Government against its offending subjects. But cannot a similar, and no less conclusive argument be made in favor of such an execution of its laws against foreign offenders also? Most certainly. It is admitted that the greatest wisdom and considerateness are necessary in deciding on so solemn a measure as war. But, just here, the amazing impropriety, the fatal inconsistency occurs, of intrusting the execution of the declaration of war to those who are, for the most part, profligate and base—the very scum and refuse of society. Not only so, but it is insisted, and that, too, by good men and by the friends of peace, that the profligate and base are the peculiarly fit persons to fill up the ranks of the armies—the peculiarly fit persons to be 'food for powder.' They believe, with Napoleon, that 'the worse the man, the better the soldier;' and with Wellington, that 'the men who have nice scruples about religion, have no business to be soldiers.' A sad mistake, however, is this, on the part of the good men I have referred to. They should insist that none but the virtuous and intelligent are fit to be armed men. Peace men are wont to complain that war is too much honored. But if there must be war, it should be far more honored than it is; and, to have it so, none but the intelligent and virtuous are to be thought worthy of fighting its battles. Of such persons, and of such only, would I have the national police consist: that police, which is the fit and needed substitute for war-armies and war-navies. Surely, they who man the vessel, that is to go forth against the pirates of the ocean, and they who take up arms to vindicate defied justice on the land, should be men of virtue and not vice—intelligent and not ignorant. The wicked and the vile will not fail to justify their wickedness, if it is the wicked and the vile who undertake their punishment. But if wisdom and virtue are arrayed against them, there is hope that they may be awed, or shamed out of their wickedness.

The armed forces of the world are looked upon as a mere brute power. Composed, as I would have them composed, there would still be an ample amount of brute power in them; but there would, also, be in them the far more important element of moral power. I say far more important; for disturbers of the peace and transgressors of the laws would be far more controlled by the presence of the moral, than the presence of the brute power. Indeed, the brute power itself would then be viewed very differently from what it now is. Now, it kindles the wrath, and oftentimes the contempt of those against whom it is arrayed. But, then, commended, honored, sanctified by the moral influence with which it would stand associated, it would be respected and submitted to by them, who, but for that association, would despise and resist it. That men of conscience and virtue are respected and feared by their enemies; and that their conscience and virtue make their hearts none the less courageous, and their arms none the less strong, was well illustrated by Cromwell's never-defeated armies.

With my conceptions of the character proper for those who are to compose the armed police of a nation, it is not strange that I, too, would be in favor of military and naval schools; and that I would have them far more numerously attended than such schools now are. But the military and naval schools that I would be in favor of, would not be an appendage of the war system. They would not look to the possibility of war: and, of course, they would not train their pupils for war. Nevertheless, they would train them for the most effective service against the enemies of the human race; and to this end they would impart the highest scientific, literary, and moral education.

I said, that I would have none but the virtuous and intelligent for the armed men of the nation. They should be gentlemen: and all the better, if Christians and scholars also. They should be among the most honored of men—both from their high office as conservators of the public safety, and from their intrinsic merits. But, alas! what a contrast between such men and the vast majority of those who compose the armies of the world! To that vast majority, Government gives out grog, as swill is given out to hogs. From the backs of that vast majority, many statesmen are reluctant to hold back the lash. Of course, I refer not to mere 'sentimentalists,' but to those intellectual persons, who, in the esteem of the gentleman of Alabama, are alone capable of rising 'into the dignity of statesmen.'

We often hear it said, that the policeman of London is a gentleman. He should be. But if he, who is charged with the preservation of the peace, and safety, and order of a city, needs to be a gentleman, how much more should he be a gentleman, whose office is to care, in this wise, for a nation and for the world!

But, it will be said, that men of the elevated character with which I would fill up our armed forces, would not be content with the present wages of the common sailor and common soldier. It is true, that they would not; and that they should not. Their wages should be several times greater. But, it must be remembered, on the other hand, that one of such men would be worth fifty of the present kind of armed men for preserving the world's peace. Nay, the armed men of the world are of a kind continually to hazard the peace of the world.

I said, that there is no need of preparing against war. I add, that preparation against war provokes to it, instead of preventing it. If England makes it, then is France provoked to a counter preparation. And, what is not less, but much more, each nation having made such preparation, is tempted to use it. If these nations line their coasts with cannon, it is but natural, that they should long to try the efficiency of their cannon on each other's ships. "To what purpose is all this waste?" will be the reproachful inquiry, which they will put to themselves, whilst they suffer this vastly expensive preparation to lie idle. If the maxim: 'To prepare for war is to prevent war,' were ever true, it must have been in those remote ages, when such preparation cost but little time and money. It, certainly, is not true, when much time and scores of millions are expended in such preparation.

But to return to the bill. I would that it might be defeated; and that the bill for building vessels-of-war might be defeated; and that the President's recommendations for increasing the army and navy might find no favor. For the legitimate purposes of a national armed police, the army and navy are already sufficiently large. What is lacking in them is an elevation of intellectual and moral character; and how to supply that lack, I have already indicated.

But, it is asked: 'What shall we do with the surplus money in the Treasury?' I answer: 'Use it in paying our debts.' We owe many honest debts—and some of them to persons, who are suffering for the payment of them. We shall be, altogether, without excuse, if, when our Treasury is overflowing, we do not pay them; but, instead thereof, indulge a mad war passion in building ships, and in making other war preparations. Remember, too, that the debt which we incurred in our superlatively mean and wicked war with Mexico is not paid. I hope that we shall pay it; and not leave it to posterity to be obliged to pay it, or repudiate it. But it may also be asked: 'What shall we do with the future surplus money in the Treasury?' I answer: 'Have none.' We should have none, either by adopting free trade, or by doing what is the next best thing—raising the tariff to the level of a full protection. The mixture of free trade and protection is a miserable compound. But it may also be asked: 'What shall we then do for means to carry on the Government?' I answer, that, when we shall no longer have war to support, and are weaned from the extravagances and follies, which are cherished and begotten by that dazzling and bewitching and befooling barbarism, it will not cost more than one tenth as much, as it does, to defray the cost of administering Government; and that tenth the people will be willing to be directly taxed for.

But I have consumed the most of my hour, and must close. Do not pass any of these war bills. Do not so cruel, so foolish, so wicked a thing. Cruel it will be to the poor, who will have to pay these millions of fresh taxes; for, remember, Sir, that it is they who have to pay them. The toiling poor are the only creators of wealth. Such as ourselves are but the conduits of wealth. Foolish it will be, because the more you expend in this wise, the more will it be felt necessary to expend; and because the more you seek to protect your country in this wise, the less will she be protected. Wicked it will be, because war, in all its phases, is one of the most horrid crimes against God and man.

I have made my appeals, Sir, in the name of reason and religion, both of which condemn war. Let not these appeals, which are made to our higher nature—to all that is pure, and holy, and sublime within us—be overborne by the counter appeals, which are made in the name of a vulgar patriotism, and which are all addressed to our lower nature—to our passion, pride, and prejudice—our love of conquest, and power, and plunder.

There is, just now, an opportunity for Congress to do a better thing than to indulge and foment the spirit of war. Our Government, as I am informed, is negotiating a commercial treaty with England. From what I learn of its provisions, I rejoice in it. I trust that it will be consummated, and go into full effect. It will open to us reciprocal free trade, in natural productions, with the British North American Provinces: and so lead the way for our reciprocal free trade with those Provinces in all productions—in the works of men's hands, as well as in the fruits of God's earth; and so lead the way, I may add, for such unrestricted trade between ourselves and other countries also. I regret that our Government has, hitherto, been so slow to embrace the liberal overtures of our northern neighbors. I trust that no sectional, or other unworthy, jealousies will avail to hold us back, any longer, from embracing these overtures. Let not Maine fear a new competition in lumber and shipbuilding; nor Pennsylvania in coal; nor Ohio in wheat.—These States will lose nothing in these respects; and, if they should lose anything, their loss will be inconsiderable, in comparison with their rich grain from free trade in natural productions with a country whose trade with us has doubled in the last seven years, and our exports to which are double her exports to us. Her trade with us in 1852 amounted to nearly seventeen millions of dollars. And let not the unworthy cavil be repeated, that these Provinces offer us free trade in natural productions only. How could they carry on their Governments, were they to consent to free trade in all productions? Is it said, that they could by direct taxation? But it does not lie in the mouth of a Tariff nation like ours to say so. I repeat it—I rejoice in this treaty. To accomplish such a blessing for our own country, for the British Provinces, and for the world, will be an imperishable honor to this Administration.

I am informed that our Government is negotiating a commercial treaty with France also. Now, how happy if this House would use its great influence to get inserted in both these treaties an arbitration clause—a clause submitting international disagreement to a wise, disinterested, peaceful arbitrament! How happy, if this House would pass a resolution to this effect! An arbitration clause in our treaties with those nations would render war between them and us well nigh morally impossible. And such a clause would prepare the way for the establishment of an international court—that great desideratum of the world. Would that our country might participate most promptly and most largely in the glory of achieving that desideratum! We have, already, the village court, and the county court, and the district court, and the state court, and the national court; and were it proposed to abolish one of these courts, and to let differences between men take their own course, and run into violence and bloodshed, such proposition would be regarded as a proposition to return to barbarism. But, Sir, I trust that the day is near at hand, when it will be thought to be barbarous not to have an international court.

Sir, I have done. Rapidly, very rapidly, has the world advanced in civilization, the last forty years. The great reason why it has, is, that, during this period, it has been comparatively exempt from the curse of war. Let the world continue to advance thus rapidly in civilization; and let our nation continue to advance with it. During these forty years, our nation has generally gone forward in the cause of peace. In its war with Mexico, it took a wide step backward. God grant that it may never take another step backward, in this cause! God grant, that, in respect to this dear and sacred cause, our nation may adopt the motto on one side of the standard of the immortal Hampden: '*Nulla vestigia retrorsum*'—no steps backward: and, having done this, it will have good ground to hope for its realization of the blessing of the mottto on the other side of that patriot's standard: 'God with us.'

Pass these war bills, Sir, and carry out the President's recommendations, and you will contribute to roll along that deep and broad stream of sin and sorrow, which war has rolled down through every age of the world. But defeat these bills, and frown upon these recommendations, and there will be joy on earth, and joy in heaven.

MR. HOUSTON, of Alabama. I ask the previous question upon this bill.

The question was then taken, and it was decided in the affirmative; and the bill, being engrossed, was read the third time, and passed.

From the Practical Christian.

GERRIT SMITH'S 'ARMED POLICE.'

BY ADIN ALLOU.

Gerrit Smith has gone into Congress with his coat and mittens off, a prompt working man, as his numerous admiring friends expected he would. He soon found a job, and went about it with executive energy. The President in his Message had commended Capt. Ingraham's chivalrous interposition in behalf of the Hungarian, Martin Koszta, at Smyrna. It was proposed to refer that part of the Message to the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and speeches were being made *pro et con.* Mr. Smith was not behind time. He made his maiden Congressional speech. The Koszta case gave him a fine chance to strike a blow at American slavery. He united with his pro-slavery colleagues in glorifying Capt. Ingraham's conduct, only censuring him for not going farther; and then turned back upon the negro Kosztas of his own country, hunted by worse than Austrian kidnappers, to inquire if the Capt. Ingrahams who befriended them were not entitled to a different kind of treatment from that prescribed in the Fugitive Slave Law? This was dealing out fore-strokes and back-strokes after a fashion which quite non-plussed the pro-slavery chivalry. They were not expecting to have abolitionism manufactured out of Ingrahamism and the President's Message. Yet it was fairly done, and they put on the best face they could under such a discomfort.

But I did not take up my pen to expatiate on Mr. Smith's anti-slavery ingenuity, fidelity and eloquence. There are enough to do that better than I can. Mr. Smith is a professed PEACE MAN, and was once all but a Non-Resistant. Well, it is generally easier to be an anti-slavery man on the fighting principle, than on the Peace principle; because anti-slavery is an indignation theme, and whether a man talks or acts, he must deal somewhat largely in indignation. At any rate, if he have much feeling and conscience, he will be likely to manifest more or less of it. And, generally, we may expect a spice of war about the abolitionist before he gets through; prospective and contingent war, if nothing more. Now when our Peace abolitionists get into a pro-war government, it seldom takes them along, I observe, to dilute their new wine, so that they can put it into old bottles with safety. Mr. Smith has prepared *his* so nicely, that I am sure the war bottles will bear its fermentations without bursting. He is opposed to all war, but is in favor of an 'Armed National Police.'—This is to be maintained by nations, not only at home, but abroad on the high seas. He indicates his views as follows:—

'Notwithstanding my opposition to all war, I defend Capt. Ingraham's purpose to use force, should force become necessary. I believe such purpose is in harmony with the true office of civil government. I hold that an armed national police is proper, and that here was a fit occasion for using it, had moral influences failed. But to believe in this, is not to believe in war.' In a more recent speech denunciatory of war, Mr. Smith says: 'This nation, in common with others, is bound to maintain, both by land and sea, a large armed force to be wielded against the enemies of the human race, scattered over the face of the earth, the pirates looking for innocent prey; but these armed forces should be of a moral and intellectual character. With this view, I am in favor of Military and Naval Academies—not those which prepare people for war, but which look to a national armed police.'

Is it not somewhat astonishing that men, so reputable for goodness and wisdom as Gerrit Smith, should speechify eloquently against war, and with the same breath proclaim themselves in favor of a *large armed national police* to be maintained by land and sea, requiring military and naval academies to teach its officers the art of assailing and conquering the enemies of the human race? What is this but war in all its essential rudiments—its vital principles! And what could it result in practically but war! What but this do the advocates of war, throughout the civilized world, contend for?

Let us look at this theory. 1. There are enemies of the human race, pirates, kidnappers, &c. 2. These are to be assailed and conquered by force of arms, if necessary: that is, killed out-right, or maimed and captured, just as is done in war. 3. It *will* be necessary to treat them in this manner, and therefore military and naval education and armaments should be furnished to the national police. 4. This armed national police must be strong enough to overpower the enemy. 5. Every independent nation, or Civil Government, is to have its own armed police. 6. Every Civil Government must, in the nature of the case, be its own judge who are the enemies of the human race, and how large an armed police it ought to maintain to meet probable emergencies. 7. This armed national police is to have highly educated officers, who of course must be well paid, and whose professional glory, as well as interest, will consist in successfully hunting down the enemies of the human race, as per order of Government. Is not this the actual working of all existing sword-sustained, so-called Civil Governments? Certainly it is. Their respective armies and navies are their respective armed and national polices. In their respective judgments, these armed polices are no larger than probable emergencies render necessary.

But it will be said that these armies and navies are not maintained for the great purpose of assailing, conquering and overawing 'the enemies of the human race, pirates,' &c. In the declared judgment of their respective national authorities, they are. Where is the Government in all the civilized world, that maintains armies and navies, or carries on war, in its own judgment, against the *friends* of the human race, or against any not deemed the enemies of justice, good order, and of course human welfare? Not one can be found. It is true, many worthy private thinkers honestly and justly entertain a very different opinion from those Governments. And this, no doubt, will be true in many cases when Mr. Smith's 'armed national police' gets into operation. But who *then*, any more than *now*, would be able to countervail the selfish and false judgment of a Civil Government, sustained by a large, well-sustained, well-officered, well-trained, well-furnished, invincible military and naval police, whose trade and glory it would be to treat every man as an enemy of the human race, that was pointed out as such by superior authority? There must be submission, or bloody revolution. In the latter case, the Government police would have to be large and strong enough to put down the rebels.—Or else the rebels would overturn the Government, and set up a new one, with a requisitely large police to take care of the enemies of the human race, alias the conquered party; thenceforth paying back their protection of human welfare in the old-fashioned coin.

This game of hunting and coercing the enemies of the human race is an old one, which all parties can play at by turns. The Government of the United States, whereof Mr. Smith is one of the best, if not the very best, sworn incumbents, holds the friends of fugitive slaves, if they rescue, secrete, hide, or kindly feed them as such, to be rank and pestilent offenders—yea, enemies of the human race; and its police is ordered to treat them accordingly, whenever and wherever it can detect them. Mr. Smith and other abolitionists return the charge with interest upon the Government. Now what? Is it not plain that the Government, with its mighty armed national police, can maintain its own judgment, however damnable, against the judgment of a *few* men, denounced as traitors to their county and enemies of their race? Here lies the capital error in all these war systems, and authorizations of violence *when necessary:* That it is ever right for human beings to inflict a known, absolute injury on fellow-human beings under any pretext whatsoever. So long as it is taken for granted that individuals, or spontaneous combinations, or governmental organizations, *must* or *may* kill, or otherwise absolutely injure human beings in certain cases, the war system, however modified, remains the established curse of the human race. We may try to dodge the result by shifts and turns as ingeniously as we please, yet while the *root* lives the *tree* thrives. But lay the axe to the root of this old barbaric Upas; make it a deadly sin against the law of love, against God and man, to inflict a known absolute injury on any human being, even the worst of the race; and you strike a death-blow at all war systems in their radical vitality.

To all this I shall be answered, that what I insist on cannot be done *now;* that the world is too wicked—that while so many monsters of aggression exist, it is an unavoidable necessity that the friends of order should repel and suppress deadly injury with deadly injury; and that the good of intolerable aggressors cannot be regarded, without sacrificing the greater good of the injured party, and of the public. I knew this would be your answer.—It is the old, the universal answer. It has been virtually stereotyped since the days of Nimrod. It is an honest answer with the majority, I do not doubt. Nevertheless, it is a mistaken one. But granting it, for argument sake, I will ask two questions: 1. If Governments and individuals persist in acting on this war-principle, when is the world ever to be cured of war? 2. If it be right for Governments and individuals thus to persist, in acting on this war-principle, of what use is it to denounce war, and propose to substitute a large, armed national police, which is only another name for the same thing? Will some wise mind answer these questions?

Now with reference to Mr. Smith's armed national police, it is obvious that the necessity for it, in *his* mind, lies in the wickedness of a part of the human race, who are enemies to their kind, and who cannot be restrained without an occasional resort to deadly force. But he seems not to realize the fact, that National Governments themselves are often controlled by the most consummately unjust, selfish, tyrannical and oppressive men, whose wrongs, inflicted governmentally on mankind, are as much greater than those of ordinary pirates, as the Atlantic Ocean is greater than a mill pond. He knows that this is really the case, but in the speeches under notice, he appears to have lost sight of it.—Hence he speaks of an armed national police as a very harmless and beneficent instrumentality, whereby Civil Government may fulfil its proper office. And it is curious enough to hear him arguing, that Capt. Ingraham ought to have treated the Austrian war-ship, its officers and crew, as self-authorized kidnappers and pirates—not as a part of Austria's 'national armed police,' set on to hunt down traitors and so-called enemies of the human race. Why should a man set up theories and suppositions against plain facts in this manner? That the Austrian officers, in Koszta's case, treated him as the Austrian Government wished him treated, no man of common sense can doubt. Was the Austrian national armed police to be taken for pirates under such circumstances, and their principals assumed to be innocent? Such notions of justice seem to me very strange when coming from such a quarter. And then, what an illustration of the practical working of an 'armed national police!' An American vessel assails, and sinks or captures an Austrian vessel as a pirate, when the latter is regularly commissioned as a part of the Austrian naval police! How long would it take two nations, with two such national armed polices, to get into war? It may be said, Mr. Smith hopes to bring all the nations into a common league, each with righteous Civil Governments; and then the several national armed polices will all be properly regulated, and directed harmoniously only against the straggling enemies of the human race. Perhaps; but if so, he may as well wait, like all our apologists for war, till the millenium, before he talks further of his national armed police, as an improvement on the present system. When that good time comes, I venture to predict that *unarmed* polices, forbidden ever to inflict a known absolute injury on any human being, will answer all the good purposes of Government; and that military and naval academies, to teach the art of slaying and capturing pirates, will be quite unnecessary. In conclusion, I must say, in all kindness and with all respect towards Mr. Smith, and our other Governmental Peace men, that I am more than ever convinced how trying their situation is as sworn, official participators in a sword-sustained, radically pro-war Government; that to me it is evidently impossible for them to serve two antagonistic Master Principles; and that I do hope they will not attempt to reconcile Christ and Belial by splitting the difference between them.

From the New York Independent.

A LETTER TO JOHN MITCHEL.

BY HENRY WARD BEECHER.

You address a very long letter to me, in the *Citizen* of Jan. 28, 1854, in defence of yourself and American slavery. That you select *me* from among all who reprobated your apostacy from the gospel of human liberty, arises, I presume, from reasons of convenience to yourself, rather than of compliment to me. I am a clergyman; and it might seem to the unwary a very natural thing to address to such an one an argument on *Hebrew* slavery. It is doubtless more agreeable for you to stumble over the records of rude society four thousand years ago, and to talk about Moses and the patriarchs, than to ponder what John Mitchel—the Irish patriot—said but the other day about *American* slavery. I shall not suffer that new issue to be made.

In the article which has excited such surprise, you expressed no opinion about Abraham; you said nothing of what you would have thought it right to do, if born four thousand years ago, on Chaldean plains, or if you had been a Jew. It was American slavery that you spoke of. Hebrew slavery admitted that a slave was a man, with all appropriate human responsibilities, and made ample provisions for his religious and civil instruction. American slavery stands upon the fundamental idea, that a slave is a *chattel*, not a *man;* and it makes the teaching him to read a penitentiary offence: an offence for which Mrs. Douglass now lies in a Virginia prison. *This* slavery, that destroys manhood by its first touch, you not only justified abstractly, but longed to practise it, in Alabama; and that no doubt might remain of your intention, you volunteered your belief in flogging, and other means of coercing unwilling slaves to their hated tasks.

Now, Sir, I don't wonder that you would like to have that forgotten, and that you find it more pleasing to take an amateur survey of Moses and the Prophets, than to talk about John Mitchel, and that plantation in Alabama, from whose ownership he is kept only by poverty, not by principle.

Your letter is a very poor argument on a very bad side. But the poverty of its reasoning is the best part of it. No man in your circumstances could make a good argument for voluntary slaveholding, without more time for practice. Corruption does not work so quickly. It takes time to round up and ripen a treason to moral principles.

Under the circumstances, I marvel that you have done so well. Your engagements in Ireland, for many years, would not be apt to turn your investigations in the direction of arguments for slavery.

Neither was it to be expected that you would spend your leisure in a penal colony, where you expiated the crime of fanaticism for liberty, in searching out arguments to prove the right of one set of men to own and oppress another.

After your arrival in America, you were so busy in receiving republican congratulations upon the restoration of your *own* liberty, that you had little time to bestow upon reasons for taking away other men's liberty.

If to these considerations be added some inaptness natural to new work, some awkwardness in the discussion of Scriptural topics, and that dizziness which one must be expected to feel after a somerset, I think every one will regard your performance as far beyond anything that could have been expected.

I hope it will not be accounted vanity for me to say, that I could have helped you to frame a far better argument in favor of Hebrew slavery. It is a new question to you; it is a very old one to us. I have heaps of trash in my library, that you might have added to your rubbish. I have within reach, enough of clay and straw on that matter to build you an argument huge as an Egyptian pyramid.

If you desire to defend monarchy from Scripture, I have by me writers that do that. The Bible has been regarded as a bulwark of oppression by all oppressors. It has opened its doors like a vast magazine, in which every man who wanted to wrong his fellows could find precedent or reason; a sword to slay the innocent, and a shield to cover the guilty. And polemical freebooters there have been to defend, from Scripture, every wrong that the sun ever shone upon; and their tracts and books are thick as the locusts and frogs of Egypt, and as loathsome. And yet, in spite of all sermons and tyrannous interpretations, wherever a free Bible is read, it inspires a free heart, and strikes the root of liberty down into men's bosoms with ineradicable grasp.

If, therefore, your argument be regarded, not in the light of your past personal history, but in the comparison of what has been done to make the Bible lie, and what could be done again, you have been but a poor workman. You have been angling in a petty ditch among pin-fish and wriggling vermin. You should have struck right out into those gulfs and bays, where prolific oppression has for ages spawned and hatched unnumbered monsters that disport themselves upon the surface, or nuzzle in the slime, or hang poised in silent vigilance for the unwary, like tropical sharks in the warm bays of equatorial waters. If it is your purpose to go on in your new vocation, you will find deep waters and ponderous prey all ready for your sport!

But what has turned you to such waters at all! Had you been born in Alabama, had you sucked in republicanism from the breasts of a southern gospel, had your conscience been cultivated like a cotton-plant, and your principles spun from it fine as thread, and as easily wound around any spool that interest might choose to whirl in political spinning-jennies, we should have been less surprised. For, we have learned to be surprised at nothing in moral and political legerdemain. But to see honest, riotous John Mitchel, audacious and ferocious John Mitchel, whom the world has admired as a *Cœur de Lion*, thundering with his battle-axe at the postern of the castle of Torquilstone, till his blows rung above the whole shout of the battle; to see this Hercules, now sitting with his distaff and patiently spinning out fine threads for the meshes of the worst system of slavery that the world has ever known, this is a moral marvel. At last, we are surprised again. The long-lost luxury of that feeling has returned.

But, of course, you did not expect me to follow you into your twilight researches. You had no idea that I should be coaxed away from the real issue between you and the American public, into a discussion of Greek and Hebrew slavery.

The question between you and the public is not whether Hebrew slavery was right. Nor whether Roman slavery was right. Nor even whether American slavery is right.

The question is simply this: *Can John Mitchel be an American slaveholder, without apostacy from the grounds which he took against the English government?* That is a question about which Mr. Mitchel will find little light either in the Greek or Hebrew. That has to be discussed in plain Saxon English.

What was the liberty which you asserted for Ireland? *Was it a liberty founded upon the inalienable right of every human being to life, liberty, and happiness?* or was it a liberty founded *on the right of the strong to oppress the weak?* That is the question which American newspapers are just now discussing, and to which, as soon as he has leisure from Moses and the patriarchs, we recommend Mr. Mitchel's attention.

It may be, that the Bible justifies absolutism; or it may be that it inspires and authorizes liberty. But whichever way it is, has nothing to do with your position before the public.

Who cares, just now, whether Abraham might hold slaves, or Moses! We wish to know how a braggadocio for liberty, who has filled the whole world with uproar about human rights, can reconcile liberty and slaveholding.

The patriarchs are the least part of your task. John Mitchel is the man whom John Mitchel must make his peace with! John Mitchel ten years ago for universal liberty, and John Mitchel now wishing he were an Alabamian slave-owner! John Mitchel in 1848, asserting the liberty of man against the crown and sceptre, and John Mitchel in 1854, asserting the slave-whip, and the master, against the rights of man!

Crowd these two portraits upon one canvas—if you can. Please let Moses sleep; and come back from your retreat behind the dust of 4000 years, to reconcile John Mitchel holding parley with kings and autocrats, with John Mitchel flogging slaves through a rice-swamp, or along the rows of cotton on his plantation!

The public wishes to know how it happens, even if slavery *can* be defended, that the defence of it should be so congenial a task to Mr. Mitchel. There are some necessary tasks that honorable men do not like to perform. If capital punishment be allowed, some one must be the hangman. If the guillotine must stand, some poor caitiff must assist its functions. But what should we think, if those very men that had spent their lives in endeavors to abolish the gallows, and put away the barbarous rattling guillotine, should rush into the first vacancy, and parade with vociferous pride their elevation to the dignity of a hangman or an executioner! There were men enough to do the dirty work of slavery; men born upon a level with their tasks. We did not expect to see a great reformer—a champion of Human Rights, after an illustrious circumnavigation of the globe as a martyr for freedom, using his very first hours of liberty in rubbing down the stiff and spavined limbs of Slavery. Some other man surely might have been found for such a function.

But we cannot continue in this painful strain. The fall of such a man as John Mitchel has been thought to be, cannot excite only indignation. There is pity, too. There is a strong and generous uprising in every heart, protesting that it shall not be! We instinctively feel that it is a dream—one of those dreams of impossible dishonor, that sometimes torment good men; and we stand waiting for it to break, and the visionary horror to fly away back to the limbo of murky folly whence it issued.

O, Sir, had all this that has happened, passed in a dream, would you not have waked, bathed in sweat, to say, shuddering, 'What a horrid nightmare has been astride of my soul! God save me from even such visions of wrong!' That which you would thus feel, we *do* feel for you! That which you would thus ejaculate to God, men speak to each other. I tell you no news, Sir, when I say that you have fallen down in the sight of the whole community, from the place of a champion of Liberty to the servile office of creeping all the days of your life on your belly for Slavery!

Once you stood like some great oak, whose wide circumference was lifted up above all the pastures, the glory of all beholders, and a covert for a thousand timid singing-birds. Now you lie at full length along the ground, with mighty ruptured roots, ragged and upturned to heaven; with broken boughs and despoiled leaves! Never again shall husbandmen predict spring from your swelling buds! Never again shall God's singing birds of liberty come down through all the heavenly air, to rest themselves on your waving top! Fallen! Uprooted! Doomed to the axe and the hearth!

I cannot hide from myself that there yet remains for you a dismal age, a desolate and cheerless solitude of infirmities. Time, that would have carried you onward, garlanded with achievements worthy of a man living for men, and surrounded by the genial sympathies of loving hearts, now, will drift you to a polar solitude, without love, or sympathy, or pity, or honor. You will sweep coidly on upon a dark current, like an ever-rolling ice-berg, that, rolling and resounding ever so much, gains no rest by changing place.

But there is a future beyond this, even on earth. There is a time promised, and already dawning, in which the human family shall be one great Brotherhood, and Love shall be the law of man. In that golden age, there shall be research made for all the names, that, since the world began, have wrought and suffered for the good of their kind. There will be a memorable resurrection of forgotten names. From the obscurity into which Despotism has flung all who dared to defy it, from the shades and darkness of oblivion, by which oppressors would cover down the memory of all who proclaimed human rights and human liberty, they will come forth shining like the sun, and none be forgotten that labored to bring to pass the world's freedom! In that day, while ten thousand names shall be heard, in all their number not one shall utter that gone and forgotten name—John Mitchel.

But, come back to us, John Mitchel; it is not yet too late. Our hearts and our hands shall help you, if you will but stir yourself to break that enchantment that some malign mischief, come from the misty realm of cruel oppression, has breathed upon you. The enchantment and the enchanter are dispossessed when any bold hand snatches and *reverses* his wand. Reverse your utterances! You have been betrayed into saying a great folly. You have been betrayed into a poor and deceitful defence of it. If you abide by it, it will sink you out of the sight of all good men, and forever. But recall it! Reverse the rod! Say to us, 'I spake it in my anger, and I defended it in my wrath; but it is not worthy of me. It is not the truth of my heart or of my nature.' There is a power of resurrection for you in these few words, as great as that of God's final Angel. It will lift you up to our hearts again. It will place you where God's crown, with which he will crown all true and noble souls, shall rest undimmed upon your brow!

But, if you will not assert your better nature, and achieve the noblest act of your life, a victory over yourself, then, sorrowfully, we must leave you, like some false and hideous image, around which, for the moment, chattering priests of oppression have burned incense, but soon to be cast out, even by them, a detested and desecrated idol, forgotten of men, and remembered only of vermin-lizards that crawl darkling beneath the twilight of poisonous weeds that grow and twine about it.

MESSRS. CHASE AND SUMNER IN REPLY TO MR. DOUGLAS.

The speech of Mr. Douglas, in the Senate, on Monday, was remarkable for its ill-temper and discourtesy to Mr. Chase. The correspondent of the New York Times says the replies of Messrs. Chase and Sumner 'were delivered with great power. Mr. Chase especially [he having been made the special object of Douglas's unmanly assault] bore himself with transcendent splendor.' The following is a brief report of their replies:

Mr. Chase said that the senator had spoken. He had fired his gun. They had heard the report; they were now in the smoke, but so far as he could see, no one had been hurt. They all survived, and he trusted would long survive such assaults as that of the senator. The senator had charged him and his friends with having prepared their address somewhere on the Sabbath. The senator had seized upon an accidental error of dating, and upon it had made the charge that he and his friends had violated the Sabbath, for which day the senator seemed to have such peculiar respect; and yet the senator himself must have known that it was an error of date, for he had mentioned the fact that on Monday the address appeared in the New York Times. The senator said it was intended to produce an effect upon some tender-footed members of the Ohio Legislature, and, there, it had been represented by its author, that it was signed by a majority of the Ohio delegation. Here, too, the senator was at fault. The corresponding editor of the Times had transmitted the address to his paper, and in his letter, upon his own responsibility, had stated that it had been signed by the Ohio delegation: that editor had not been so informed by him (Mr. Chase) nor could he have been by any one who had signed the paper. He (Mr. Chase) was not responsible for what letter-writers or any one stated. There was the address, it bore the signatures of those who had signed it. He had not sent it to Ohio. He knew not how it got there, but had telegraphed to the Ohio papers, telling them not to publish it with any signatures but those actually signed to it. How it had been published, he knew not. His colleague could say if it (the paper) had been presented to him.

Mr. Wade said he had never seen or read the document as it had been made known by the senator from Illinois. He approved of it cordially, and thought if it had been presented to him, he would have signed it.

Mr. Chase said that he did not envy the feeling which prompted the senator to make the charge, or now having made it, to find it unfounded. The senator had charged that he had been arraigned by the address. He truly assured the senator, that in writing that address, the senator had not for one moment occupied his mind. The senator was alluded to in the postscript, but only as the author of the bill. The senator had exaggerated his own importance, had considered himself the whole committee, and took upon himself all that was said of the measure. He knew the gigantic stature of the senator's importance. He knew the immense power and influence the senator exerted over the country. He knew the senator was surrounded here by a large and powerful party, and he knew the disadvantage under which he labored in a controversy provoked by the Senator. He knew the odds against him. He and the Senator from Massachusetts stood alone. They were in a small minority. They were but two in a body of sixty-two. He challenged the Senator to point to any single instance wherein he or the Senator from Massachusetts had swerved on the one side or the other, in voting upon any measure to promote the interests of the country. He asked the Senator to point to any instance where his vote had been influenced for or against any measure, because a Northern or a Southern State was to be benefitted by it. All that they had done was to deny the nationality of slavery. This was their position, firm and unalterable, and on it they were in a minority in the Senate. He now, here in the Senate and before the country, reaffirmed every word contained in that address, denying that it had any imputation upon motive, or calling in question the course of any individual. He would at a proper time proceed to answer the argument of the Senator, and then he expected to demonstrate the truth of the positions assumed in the address. In doing so, he would not follow it, because it was an example not fit to be followed. He thanked the Senator for having brought this address so prominently forward. It would now reach and be read by thousands who would not have seen it. The people will read it, and they will decide upon it. He denounced this bill, because it took from the people of the Territory the great boon which has been so long secured to them by a solemn compact. He defined the language and the terms used by the address as appropriate to the proposition which would introduce slavery into a territory which had been declared to be forever free. He denied that the Compromise of 1850 was intended to repeal the Compromise of 1820. He thought that, upon examination, the authority of Messrs. Webster and Clay, which he (the Senator) had asserted as sustaining him, would be found wholly different. Having then briefly explained the groundlessness of the charge made against him by the Senator, he would defer until to-morrow his arguments on the merits of the bill.

Mr. Sumner—Before the Senate adjourn, I crave a single moment. As one of the signers of the address referred to by the Senator from Illinois, I accept now openly, before the Senate and country, my full responsibility for it, and deprecate no criticism upon it from any quarter. That document was put forth in the discharge of a high public duty, on the precipitate introduction into this body of a measure which, as it seems to me, is not only subversive of ancient landmarks, but hostile to the peace, the harmony, the best interests of the country. But, sir, doing this, I judge the act, and not its author. I saw only the enormous proposition, and nothing of the Senator. The language used is strong, but it is not stronger than the emergency required. Here is a measure which reverses the time-honored policy of our fathers in the restriction of slavery, which sets aside the Missouri Compromise, a solemn compact, by which all the territory called by France under the name of Louisiana, was forever consecrated to freedom, and which violates also the alleged Compromise of 1850, and this is to open an immense territory to the ingress of slavery. Such a measure cannot be regarded without emotions too strong for speech. It cannot be justly described in common language. It is a soulless, eyeless monster—horrid, unshaped, and vast—fitly pictured in the verse of the Poet, *Monstrum horrendum informe ingens cui, lumen ademptum.* And this monster is now let loose upon the country. Allow me one more word of explanation. It is true that I desired that the consideration of this measure should not be pressed at once with indecent haste, as was proposed, even before the Senate could read the bill in which it was embodied. I had not forgotten that the Missouri bill, as appears from the Journal of Congress, when first introduced, in December, 1819, was allowed to rest on the table nearly two months, before the discussion commenced. The proposition to undo the only part of that work which is now in any degree within the reach of Congress, should be approached with even greater caution and reserve. The people have a right to be heard on this monstrous scheme, and there is no apology for this driving, galloping speed, which shall anticipate their voice, and in its consequences must despoil them of their rights.

From the Cleveland Herald.

OUTRAGE IN THE OHIO SENATE.

Every decent man in the State will blush at the infamous act which disgraced the OHIO SENATE and the State on Saturday last. William H. Day, editor of the *Aliened American*, published in this city, having been admitted by that body to the privileges of a Reporter, was expelled by a vote of 17 to 10, for no cause.

Mr. Day is a mulatto, but probably a shade whiter than the miserable flunkies who voted for his expulsion. He is a voter, and endowed by the Constitution and laws of Ohio with every franchise and immunity enjoyed by any other private citizen in the State.

Mr. Day is a practical printer, and liberally educated, having graduated with credit at Oberlin College. He has struggled for years to qualify himself for an effort to improve the condition of the colored people. For this purpose he has established a paper. He does not identify himself with the abolition party, preferring to occupy such grounds as will best enable him to favor such measures, from whatever quarter, as promise good to his people. His paper thus far has been conducted with ability, moderation and prudence. Mr. Day is a man of fine talents, a writer of more than usual strength, unassuming and gentlemanly in his deportment, and enjoys the respect of this entire community. Desiring to get his people in the way of reading the proceedings of the Ohio General Assembly, he proceeded to Columbus, and was admitted to the Senate in the capacity of a reporter. He is now summarily and abruptly expelled!

How will this story read abroad, in other States, and other countries? It will read thus:

In the State of Ohio, one of the *free* States of this American Union, a mulatto citizen and editor, not so dark as Alexander Dumas, late member of the French National Assembly, was expelled from the reporters' desks of the Senate, on account of his color! The aim of his paper was to benefit the free colored people of the free States. It may be doubted if any other State would interpose obstacles in the way of such a cause.

We do not denounce such wretched, infamous conduct as it deserves, for the reason only that the English language is deficient in suitable terms. We only hope that every respectable man in Ohio will mark the cringing flunkies who crawled up in the Senate to fling their miserable malice at a man greatly their superior, and at a cause they have not souls to appreciate.

☞ The following is the resolution and amendment, by the adoption of which, Wm. H. Day was excluded from within the bar of the Ohio Senate as a reporter. The amendment is a curiosity. It defies alike criticism and comment. Read it:

Resolved, That the resolution adopted on the 5th day of January, admitting W. H. Day within the bar of the Senate, as Reporter of the *Aliened American*, be, and the same is hereby rescinded.

The following is Mr. STEEDMAN's amendment:

Whereas, Wm. H. Day, on the 5th day of the month, by a vote of the Senate was admitted within the bar as a reporter for the *Aliened American;* and whereas said vote was taken in pursuance of that general courtesy which has been extended to papers of all parties and principles, and without any knowledge, except by a few Senators, of the particular persons to whom the privilege was to be extended; and whereas we recognize to the fullest extent, the political privileges to which all free white male persons are entitled in the State of Ohio; and whereas the separation of the races by certain colors, figure and features, is distinctly marked by the hand of nature, and has kept the different races generally separate through long ages past; and whereas we believe that the moral and political good of both races require that that distinction should not be interfered with or set aside, being equally at war with the best interests of both races; that fusion in colors or races, as well as fusion in politics, is evidence of a depraved state of public morals in the one case, and a want of political integrity in the other, and with a view of discountenancing amalgamation of principles, amalgamation of politics, as well as amalgamation of races, believing all fusion of politics and persons degrades the original purity, and preferring to extend the privileges of the Senate to a negro of the full blood.

Gen. Houston on Nebraska.—In his speech in Providence, on Tuesday evening, Hon. Sam. Houston alluded to the 'excitement now springing up in the country, in reference to the Nebraska territorial bill. He was on the committee which reported it, but was himself warmly opposed, and added, 'I will die opposed to it.' [Applause.] It was a violation of the faith of solemn treaties. Eighteen tribes of Indians live within the limits of the proposed territory, and are owners in fee simple of the soil, and they cannot be displaced without the commission of a great national crime. His remarks upon this point were warmly received, and there was not a single person in the audience whose sentiments on this interesting question did not accord with those advanced by this distinguished Senator.

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 10, 1854.

SAFE ARRIVAL OF MR. PILLSBURY.

The numerous friends of this devoted advocate of down-trodden humanity universally, will be delighted to read the following letter, announcing his safe arrival in England, after an uncommonly smooth passage.

LIVERPOOL, Jan. 18th, 1854.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON—I can hail you to-day, from the other side of the Atlantic. And my first impression, sailing up the Mersey, was, that Liverpool is a 'world's convention' of commerce, in perpetual session, every great nation fully represented. I did not count the different flags, but there were very many. And I confess to a little national pride which arose, at so frequently seeing the stars and stripes waving over a good many of the finest ships that rode the river.

Still, that terrible question, with its answer which has rung in our ears so long, would hold possession of my mind:—

'But what's the *meaning* of your stripes?
They mean your negroes' scars!'

And so great were the shame and mortification I felt, that I wished they had not been there; for the banner of no other nation represented a system of such oppression and cruelty as American Slavery.

Our voyage was declared, by several of the 'old salts,' the smoothest they ever made in winter. There were no 'billows, mountain high,' as I expected—indeed, there were no billows at all. There was no day when we could not with most perfect safety have gone from the ship in the smallest boat on board. Not a single wave broke over us that would wet a sailor's jacket through, except twice, and then the water did not run half across the deck. The only motion we had, was from side to side, like a rolling log. Sometimes this was very violent, requiring that every thing on the tables, and the tables themselves, be put in close confinement. But that was the only irregular motion we had, from East Boston Pier to Coburg Docks; though we had squalls of snow and hail, almost every day.

Out of fifty or sixty passengers, only three were from the United States—two of us were regular abolitionists, and the third was bearer of despatches. Had he not gone, would the important documents have been intrusted to one of us?

Most of the passengers were from Canada—merchants all the way from St. John's to Toronto—and there was a great variety of character. Four or five of them were the most industrious gamesters, in a small way, I ever saw, read, or heard of. All day long, and until ten or eleven at night, they were at their cards. One of them said he had lost over forty pounds; and yet an English shilling was all each laid down at a time. They, and a very few others, were equally devoted to their wine. I never before saw drinking so reduced to a science. I never knew so well before, how much the human stomach holds. But, generally, our company were of the most agreeable character. Indeed, these very blades of whom I have spoken, were among the most amiable and gentlemanly of the company; and their way of beguiling time added much to the diversions of the rest.

We had much discussion on the course the United States may be expected to pursue, in the event of a general war in Europe. And since being in Liverpool, many have asked me whether we should remain neutral, if the safety of England was endangered by her interference against the Russians. I always tell them we would no doubt aid England as soon as any other people, for perhaps two reasons—one, because she is a distant relation of ours; the other, a stronger one, is, that she is a good customer—buys largely and pays well. But, on the whole, the part our government and people would most likely sustain, would be, to feed and clothe both armies, and sell at the very highest prices possible. And then I tell them the reason is, because we have an army of more than three millions in our very midst, with whom we are at eternal war, and on account of whom, we shall never be drawn into conflict with any other power, unless it be some fragmentary Indian tribe, or a feeble nation like Mexico, that can be held at bay without weakening at all our military strength at home.

On our voyage, we had a great deal of talk on American Slavery. The Canadians take a deep interest, many of them, in the subject. We had one most excellent gentleman from Toronto, and he gave us good accounts of the condition of the fugitives there, and of the feeling of the people toward them.

When it became known, that I was a public laborer in the cause of the enslaved, a very polite request was drawn up and signed by all the company, that I would give a public address in the saloon, 'on the Social and Moral Condition of the Slave, and the proposed measures for Emancipation.' The Captain, however, had to interfere in the matter, on the ground that a rule of the Cunard company is, that no public lectures or addresses of any kind, shall be given on board any of the ships. But we had a continued agitation in private circles, for the last two or three days. And at the risk of being regarded as a little egotistic, a quality I hate, I will relate a little incident that occurred on the last week day of the voyage, at the dinner table. Some little formality is common at that time, in the way of speeches, songs, and sentiment. When the programme was handed me, I found it arranged that the Queen and our own President having been pledged, the next sentiment was to be the health of the Captain of the steamer, and that would be expected of me. When the President's health was given, some very complimentary allusions were made to the 'citizens of the United States, then present.' To these I had to respond as best I could, in connection with the sentiment I gave. My remarks seemed to give great satisfaction, and as soon as I sat down, a gentleman from Glasgow, and a wealthy merchant there, rose and gave, 'The liberty of the American slave, and the health of Mr. Pillsbury, his distinguished advocate.' Any response to this must have been an Anti-Slavery speech—and this the company seemed determined to have. It was a British ship, a British Captain, and a British company. My remarks were received with the profoundest respect, and at the close, loudly cheered. We all felt that slavery was blotting and polluting what might otherwise be the fairest escutcheon in the world of nations.

DUBLIN, Jan. 20. To make sure of a visit to the place and person that, of almost all others, I most wished to see on this side the Atlantic, I have hastened over to Dublin, and am closing this letter at the hospitable home of Richard D. Webb. To you and other American friends who have seen him, I need say nothing, either of his qualities as a man, or his knowledge of the Anti-Slavery movement, and zeal and interest in everything connected therewith. Nor can any language express the pleasure I experience, at an interview with one so eminently worthy the respect and affection of every American Abolitionist.

Before writing again, I hope to have recovered from sea-sickness, (as is not yet the case,) and to have seen so much of men and things in these countries, as to have something to communicate more worthy a place in your columns. To me, one thing is deeply interesting in the climate. Here, at fifty-three degrees north latitude, on the twentieth of January, men are working in the gardens, and the crocus and snow-drop are budding and blossoming by their side, and the streets are filled with people, who are barefooted, though otherwise comfortably clothed, and who doubtless could put on shoes, did they deem them necessary. Poverty is to be deplored and dreaded every where; but a winter here and in New England, are two things of a widely different character.

With the highest respect and esteem, your friend,

PARKER PILLSBURY.

THE BIBLE DISCUSSION.

HOPEDALE, (Ohio,) Feb. 1st, 1854.

MR. GARRISON—Last winter, Mr. Barker was pursuing in this vicinity, the course he has been pursuing, of late, in Philadelphia and Boston:—That is, challenging the clergy to a public discussion upon the authority of the Bible.

Mr. Hartzell, a plain, unassuming preacher, and member of the Congregation of Disciples at Hopedale,—a firm believer in the Supreme authority of the Scriptures,—after considerable hesitancy, finally agreed to meet him on the following proposition, viz:

'The Jewish and Christian Scriptures contain a series of communications, supernaturally revealed, and miraculously attested,—and from the latter, man may acquire a perfect rule of life.'

Mr. Hartzell affirmed, Mr Barker denied. They accordingly met at Salem, on the 4th of July last, and continued the discussion five days. And I believe the entire audience will bear witness, that Mr. Hartzell was gentlemanly in his deportment; that he treated his opponent in the most kind and courteous manner; that he sought no undue advantage in any way, but stuck to his proposition, and argued it fairly throughout.

This, I think, is due to Mr. Hartzell, in reply to your brief notice, in THE LIBERATOR of Jan. 20th, of the discussion with Dr. Berg, in which you ask, 'Is it possible that no orthodox clergyman can hold a discussion with a 'heretic,' without exhibiting the spirit of a rowdy, or dealing in the language of a blackguard?'—and is certainly a sufficient answer to your question, unless you demur on the score of Mr. Hartzell's 'orthodoxy.'

Mr. Barker, I feel compelled to say, was irritable, personal, and at times vulgar and abusive. One word more. When Mr. Hartzell went to Salem, he was unwillingly pressed into an arrangement for the publication of the discussion. Mr. Barker had employed stenographers, and would not consent to forego the publication. Since the close of the discussion—now some six months—he has baffled all Mr. Hartzell's efforts to bring it to the press.

Justice to Mr. Hartzell, and to the cause of truth, requires that these facts should follow Mr. Barker to Philadelphia—to Boston—or wherever else he may go.

The community may draw from them their own conclusions. Your sincere friend, J. D. McNEELY.

☞ Mr. Barker being at the present time in Boston, we have deemed it proper to place the letter of Mrs. McNeely in his hands, and, as a rejoinder, he desires us to insert the following:—*Ed. Lib.*

BOSTON, Feb. 7, 1854.

DEAR FRIEND—In answer to J. D. McNeely, I would state—

1. That Jonas Hartzell did *not* treat his opponent in the most kind and courteous manner; he *did* seek to take undue advantages, in more respects than one; and if it did not turn out to be to his advantage, the fault was not his. He did not even abstain from calling bad names, from throwing out unseemly and false insinuations, from charging his opponent's views on hardness of heart, or from applying to him those passages of scripture which speak of '*scoffers* walking after their own lusts,' &c., &c. Not only one, but many, in the audience, will bear witness to this.

2. He even charged the whole band of Abolitionists with hypocrisy—with seeking the overthrow of the government and religion, under *pretence* of anti-slavery zeal.

3. So far from sticking to his proposition, and arguing it fairly throughout, he never once defined his proposition, and never argued it at all. In his first hour, he did not even *begin* his argument. He even gave up ten minutes before his time was up, as if on purpose to embarrass me, by giving me nothing to answer, and forcing the lead on the negative. Mr. Hartzell did *not* give proof that an orthodox clergyman can hold a discussion with a 'heretic,' without exhibiting a mean, a deceitful, and even a rowdy spirit.

4. As to whether I was irritable, personal, vulgar and abusive, I will leave the report of the discussion to say. I was not charged with any such faults by any of the audience at the time. I am not aware that any one has charged me with any such fault since, with the exception of J. D. McNeely. Even now, she charges me with these faults unjustly, unless I and my friends are greatly mistaken. One thing is certain: though I had more provocation from Revds. McCalla and Berg, it was observed that I kept my temper throughout the discussions, avoiding every thing like personality and abuse to the last.

5. It is not only not true, but the opposite of truth, that Mr. Hartzell was unwillingly pressed into an arrangement for the publication of the discussion. That I had engaged reporters, and would not forego the publication, and so allow my opponent to fill the country with false reports of the discussion, as he had previously filled the country with false reports of the Bible Convention, is true; but as soon as Mr. Hartzell claimed to have an equal voice with myself, in reference to the publication of the report, I foolishly consented, and the result has been, that I have never been able to get the report published. The conduct of Mr. Hartzell, in reference to the report of the discussion, has been mean and contemptible, selfish and unjust, in the extreme.

Justice, perhaps, requires that these corrections should accompany the misstatements of Mr. Hartzell's lady friend, wherever they may go.

Yours, affectionately,

JOSEPH BARKER.

BENEDICTIONS: or, the Blessed Life. By the Rev. John Cumming, D. D., F. R. S. E., Minister of the Scottish National Church, Crown Court, Covent Garden. Boston: Published by John P. Jewett & Co. Cleveland, Ohio: Jewett, Proctor & Worthington. 1854.

This is a handsomely printed volume of about 500 pages, containing twenty-four chapters on the following subjects:—Glad Music—The Favored People—The Happy Heirs of the Kingdom—Sorrow Sweetened—Earth's Rightful Heirs—The Hungry filled with Good Things—Twice Blessed—Rectitude of the Pure in Heart—The Happy Family—The Noble Army of Martyrs—Blessedness—The Joyous Festival—The Blessed Watchman—The Holy and Happy Dead—Bread for the Blessed Life—Refreshment and Rest—The Blessed Mother—The only Absolution—The Way of the Blessed Life—Complete in Christ—The Blessed Promise—Words of Eternal Life—Temple Life—The Apostolic Blessing.

Appended to this volume is 'A Pen and Ink Sketch' of Dr. Cumming, by John Ross Dix, who represents him as a very voluminous author, the sale of whose works is prodigious, and one of the most eloquent preachers in Great Britain. The character of the present work is such as must prove attractive to persons of a devotional spirit, who cannot fail to derive comfort and edification from its perusal.

THE NEW ILLUSTRATED HYDROPATHIC QUARTERLY REVIEW. Vol. I. No. 2. A Professional Magazine, devoted to Medical Reform. New York: Fowlers & Wells, Publishers, Clinton Hall, 131 Nassau street.

The first number of this Quarterly gave promise of a most useful and highly instructive periodical; and the second is equally valuable. It contains well-written papers on the following subjects:—The Movement Cures—(Illustrated).—By R. T. Trall, M. D.—Colds and Relapses. By Levi Reuben, M. D.—Hysteria. By Joel Shew, M. D. (Illustrated.)—Modus Operandi of Medicines. By R. T. Trall, M. D. (Illustrated.)—Philosophy of Common Colds. By G. H. Taylor, M. D.—Water Crises. By S. G. Gleason, M. D.—Dyspepsia. By James C. Jackson, M. D.—The Hunger-Cure. By E. A. Kittridge, M. D. Reports, Criticisms, and Reviews. By Dr. Drall.—Miscellany.

The Illustrations in the present number are numerous, with particular reference to what are called the Movement-Cures, and also to cases of Hysteria.

This voluminous and reformatory Quarterly is afforded at the low price of $2 a year in advance.

LETTER FROM REV. HIRAM WILSON.

ST. CATHARINE'S, (C. W.,) Jan. 13, 1854.

MY DEAR FRIEND GARRISON,—It has been so long since I addressed you from this glorious land of refuge, that I cannot undertake to do so without diffidence.

I know that the readers of THE LIBERATOR, both American and Trans-Atlantic, feel deeply interested in the intellectual and moral elevation and physical comfort of the Refugees in Canada from American despotism and slavery. My lot having been cast among them for seventeen years, I am prepared to speak from experience, as touching their condition, character, prospects, &c.

We have here, a large and rapidly increasing colored population, numbering over eight hundred; and yet, St. Catharine's, like a prolific bee-hive, is affording swarms for other parts of the Province. Many have gone from here to the Queen's Bush, to Owen's Sound, to Chatham, to Dawn, to Norwich, to Grand River, to Buxton, (King's settlement,) &c.; and yet the old hive is always full, and the cry is, 'still they come!' We endeavor to bear strong and faithful testimony against slavery, intemperance, and prejudices, complexional and sectarian.

Our Government knows no man by the complexion of his skin, nor is any invidious distinction among the children of the land allowed or recognized by law; hence, we insist on the colored people availing themselves of all civil and social rights, as well as religious and educational advantages guaranteed them by the Government.

There are valid reasons why special interest should be manifested towards this interesting class of Africo-Americans, both by British and American philanthropists. Sound judgment and wisdom, in harmony with pure benevolence, dictate that they should be kindly cared for; especially strangers fresh from bondage, and those driven over by the terrors of the infamous 'Fugitive Slave Law.' I have had the pleasure of witnessing, as the result of well-directed effort and untiring devotion, on the part of their friends, most gratifying improvement, intellectually, morally, and physically. Though, with but few exceptions, they enter the Province in a deplorably destitute state, many of them are rapidly acquiring property and influence, and constantly increasing their comforts. Generally, they find employment with ample rewards, and are getting on encouragingly. Their influence will yet be felt with tremendous power on the American continent.

We have them here, filling, with credit to themselves, a great variety of occupations. One man, who is a Methodist local preacher, is, at the same time, an architect and master-builder of no mean standing.

We have here a first rate goldsmith, who, but three years ago, was wearing the galling chains of slavery in Virginia. He had his feet frosted, while escaping from the hell of slavery, and in a crippled state was concealed for some time at Pittsburgh, when it was feared that his legs would have to be amputated to save his life. Some two years ago, he came here limping, and could scarcely walk. He is now boss workman in the first jeweller's shop in town. He has become accomplished in his business, by dint of superior energy and ingenuity of his own mind, with little or no instruction from others. The finest gold watches, in this part of Canada, are placed with confidence in his hands to clean and regulate, or repair, if out of order.

We have here another colored man, who deserves notice—a machinist from Long Island. Some two years ago, he came to this place for employment, driven over by the 'Fugitive Slave Law.' He showed me the best of testimonials as to character and capacity. I went with him to a machine shop, managed by two sterling Englishmen, and introduced him. He was at once employed; but a white man in the shop took offence, and said he would not work with a 'nigger.' 'Well,' said the employers, 'your money is ready! Walk up and settle, and go about your business.' One of them met me a few days after, and stated this fact. Said he, 'You have done us a great favor. The colored man you introduced is the best workman in town; we think much of him.' He now commands $2,50 per day, and is in a very fair way of taking care of himself and family.

The wealthiest colored man in this part of Canada came here penniless, some eighteen years ago, from slavery, in Tennessee, and went to work, first for his board, till his employer could have an opportunity to know him. As a blacksmith, he hammered out quite a fortune at the anvil. He is now a respectable grocer. He is a worthy, excellent, Christian man, and much respected by all who know him.

Though we have much to contend with, our work of philanthropy is prospering. The prejudices of the whites of the baser sort greatly annoy the colored people, and those who befriend them. In a number of places, they have tried to exclude them from the Government schools; but, by recourse to law, the aggrieved have triumphed, and caused their rights to be respected.

There is some little sensitiveness upon this point in St. Catharine's, at the present time; but their position is very different from what it would be in nominally free States, where malevolence is sustained by iniquitous laws, and the aggrieved can get no redress.

Liberal supplies of clothing, bedding, &c., have been sent us from various places, the past season, with which we have had the pleasure of doing much for the comfort of stangers, as well as sick, infirm and aged persons.

Some weeks ago, I furnished a good supply of bedding, wearing apparel, &c., to an extremely aged woman, who lives at the Grand River Settlement, some forty miles from here. She was a slave girl in Virginia, at the time of the French and Indian war of 1755. At the time of the Revolutionary war, she was employed some of her time at running bullets for the Americans to kill the British with. Her patriotism was but miserably rewarded; for she was held as a slave till she was about 80 years of age, when she fled to Canada for freedom, where, under Monarchical institutions and laws, she is protected in her old age. No one can reasonably rebuke her in an earnest and hearty '*God save the Queen!*'

Quite a number of fugitives have lately arrived. One young man is here from South Carolina, about 17 years of age, who is as white as President Pierce, or any of his Cabinet, though he was held as a slave till last August, when he escaped without difficulty, no one supposing that he had a single drop of African blood in him. There happens to be a free colored family here, who know him well, and those who held him; having come from the same place. I learn from him and others, that there are many similar cases in the South—the slaves being fairer, even, in complexion, than those who hold them. A short time since, I had the pleasure of clothing up a fine young man, just escaped from the interior of the 'Old Dominion,' who concealed himself for four months in the mountains, before he made his adventures northward. He knew some of the relatives of the girl who is in my family from New Orleans.

The other day, a trio of hale young men from the South called on me, who had been chased to the Suspension Bridge. I supplied their wants with a right good relish—was much gratified to hear two of them ask for axes, which were immediately procured for them. Thus they keep coming. It is, with me, a daily, I had almost said hourly business, to render assistance or advice to colored persons. The work is an important, a glorious one; but, in its prosecution, I am constantly perplexed from lack of pecuniary support. Our mission is not sufficiently servile and sectarian to relish well with existing boards and organizations; and for these reasons, it is but poorly patronized, except here and there by individuals. For several months past, my moneyed receipts have been but little more than half equal to the necessary expenses of the mission. I have no fortune of my own to expend in this sacred cause, and cannot long sustain myself, without more ample aid from others. Rents, fuel, and provisions of every description, are enormously high; consequently, the expense of living and supporting a large family is much greater now than it was some years ago. I do

not like to make appeals for help, and would not, if I could avoid it. Of late, I have had much sickness in my family, but, by the mercy of the Lord, we have been sustained, and health is again restored.

Some weeks ago, while in the midst of destitution and perplexity, as I was about to leave home in quest of help, our youngest child was taken ill, and for some time lay low at the gate of death. We were filled with solicitude and deep in trouble. The promise came to mind, 'Blessed is he that considereth the poor; the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble.' And again, 'Unto the upright, there ariseth light in the darkness.' Then, as a precious 'God send,' came a liberal donation, just at the right time, from the distinguished authoress of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.' It was sent me by her husband, Professor Stowe, of Andover. I have lately received some assistance, also, from Henry Grew, Esther Moore, and a few other good friends in Philadelphia.

A few more such favors would relieve the mission, and cheer our spirits; and we trust they will be sent in due time.

Very respectfully yours,
For Christ and Humanity,
HIRAM WILSON.

REV. MR. PITMAN—JOHN MITCHEL, &c.

PORTLAND, Jan. 23, 1854.

DEAR GARRISON—I noticed in THE LIBERATOR of the 20th instant, the death of Rev. Mr. PITMAN, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. If you never saw him, (though I can hardly suppose you have not,) I will just say, that he was a noble specimen of a man in his personal appearance and intellectual powers. In his person, though not exactly in the features of his face, he strongly resembled Daniel Webster. As a public speaker, his manner was dignified, attractive and impressive, carrying conviction to the generality of his hearers by the ponderous force of his method; so that, whoever admitted his premises, could not well avoid his conclusions. Of late years, I have heard nothing from him; but I can hardly suppose that, had he made any essential progress in the cause of humanity, aside from the effort to strengthen his sect, I should have heard of it, as I have two brothers, clergymen of the same sect, and all my earlier associations were connected with it.

Mr. Pitman was in Philadelphia at the time of the burning of *Pennsylvania Hall*, and rejoiced in that sacrifice to the Moloch of Slavery. Ten years ago, when attending the Maine Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, he said, that if he could have prevented the conflagration by lifting a finger, he would not have done it. One of the Maine preachers said to me, that he hoped Pitman would never reach the Episcopacy. I have looked, from time to time, to the appointment of Bishops, but his name has never been mentioned among them; so that my friend's wish has been gratified. But peace to his 'spirit,' if he can find it! We shall probably soon hear from him in the spirit world: perhaps get a speech from him, through some speaking medium at an anti-slavery meeting in the city of 'brotherly love' (?)—and, if he still continues in his errors, may LUCRETIA MOTT be there to answer him! Wonder if the 'spirits' have anti-slavery and pro-slavery meetings in their new state, and if the clergy there call for light upon the very first principles of Christianity! When Dr. Edward Beecher gets there, he may publish a new book upon preëxistence, probably without finding an antagonist to dispute his premises, whatever they may do with his conclusions.

As for the Irish emigrant, John Mitchell, it is plain that he has not suffered half of what he deserved. He should never have found an asylum from oppression, until he had learned to love liberty for all others, as well as for himself and Irishmen. The hope of the world is not in the Anglo-American, nor the Anglo-Saxon, the Magyar, nor the Celtic races. No, the hope of mankind is not in them. But when Africa 'shall stretch forth her hands unto God,' and rejoice in the knowledge of truth, and the liberty and security of her people, then shall the earth rejoice, because liberty shall be proclaimed to 'all nations, and kindreds, and people,' and it shall no longer be denied that 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth.' But the apostates, and heretics, and despisers of anti-slavery, I hand over to the merciless impalement of the anti-slavery butcher-bird, 'Q.' who knows how to deal with all the unfaithful, according to their works.

ANDREW T. FOSS lectured here on Sunday, and on Monday evening, the 15th and 16th inst. with much acceptance; but we have an up-hill work here. There is a total indifference among the people to the wrongs of the slave and the aggressions of the Slave Power. 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' is being played from night to night, and draws crowds merely to *see the play*. It is hoped that some good seed may be sown in this way. The prominent characters are well-sustained. Uncle Tom is perfect in his part, and carries the sympathies of the audience with him; Eva electrifies with delight and tender emotions; and Topsy never fails to bring down the house. But the interpolations in the play are bad. Justice is not done to Miss Ophelia, and the Green Mountain character and manners are grossly caricatured. This is bad; for, surely, there is enough in the original, from which to draw scenes that might be sufficiently amusing, without vulgar misrepresentation. Still, every thing helps us; so, notwithstanding the effort of the Slave Power to strengthen and perpetuate itself by extension and proscription, it shall fall, like Belteshazzar and Babylon, and Humanity shall rejoice in its utter overthrow.

Yours, in faith and hope to the end,
D. S. GRANDIN.

TRIBUTE TO JOHN M. FISK.

In publishing the following resolutions, expressive of the respect and esteem entertained for Mr. Fisk, by those who have long been his associates in the anti-slavery enterprise in his native county, we should do ourselves injustice, if we did not add that that esteem and respect are fully shared by us, and we believe by all who have known Mr. Fisk as a member and officer of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, as well as of the Worcester County Society. Long-protracted ill-health has at length constrained Mr. Fisk to surrender all duties and obligations of a business character; and it cannot be otherwise than that his retirement should occasion deep regret to his many friends. It is at least fifteen years since we first met Mr. Fisk as a member of the Worcester Co. South A. S. Society. He joined at that time with a few others in resuscitating that Society; and to him was, in a large measure, due whatever efficiency it had for the next twelve years or more. He was, for many years, and until his voluntary withdrawal, unanimously elected its President. In various situations, he rendered most effective aid to the Society and the cause. But this is not the time to speak particularly on these points. In the suffering which wasting disease may bring upon our friend, he may be assured of the sincere sympathy of many hearts. The intimate and instructive companionship which some of us have had with him, in labors for the anti-slavery cause, will always remain among our dearest memories.

At a special meeting of the Executive Committee of the Worcester County South Division Anti-Slavery Society, held at the house of Mr. John M. Earle, in Worcester, on Monday, January 23, 1854, it was

Voted, That we accept the resignation of Mr. JOHN M. FISK, as Treasurer of the Society.

Voted, That Alfred Wyman, of Worcester, be appointed to the office of Treasurer for the remainder of the year.

Voted, That Samuel May, Jr., of Leicester, and Joseph A. Howland, of West Brookfield, be a sub-committee to receive the accounts and funds from Mr. Fisk, and transfer the same to Mr. Wyman.

And said Committee is empowered and instructed to present the sincere thanks of the Executive Committee, and of the Society which they represent, to Mr. JOHN M. FISK, for his long, assiduous, disinterested, and highly valuable services as Treasurer of the Society for a period of many years. We are sure that his labors of love and zealous devotion to the cause of the enslaved shall not be without their reward.

Attest: SAMUEL MAY, JR.,
Chairman of the Executive Committee.

THE NEBRASKA BILL

Was taken up in the U. S. Senate, Feb. 6th, and the question was put on Mr. Chase's amendment, viz:—To strike out the words declaring the Missouri Compromise line superseded by the principles of the act of 1850.—The vote stood as follows:—

Yeas—Messrs. Cass, Chase, Everett, Fish, Foote, Hamlin, Seward, Smith, Stuart, Sumner, Wade, and Walker—13.

Nays—Messrs. Adams, Atchison, Badger, Bayard, Bell, Benjamin, Bright, Brodhead, Butler, Clay, Dawson, Dixon, Dodge of Iowa, Douglas, Evans, Fitzpatrick, Geyer, Houston, Hunter, Jones of Tenn., Mallory, Mason, Norris, Petit, Sebastian, Shields, Slidell, Thompson of Ky., Toucey and Williams—30.

Mr. Douglas moved to strike out the words, 'which were superseded by,' and insert 'which is inconsistent with.' Mr. Cass said he would vote for this amendment. He could not vote for the words declaring the supersedure. It required an act of Congress to effect a supersedure of a law. It was clearly proper to say 'inconsistent with.'

Mr. Badger contended that the two phrases were equal, and expressed the same thing.

Mr. Cass—I would much rather say at once that the Missouri Compromise is unconstitutional, and would prefer saying so directly in so many words.

Mr. Douglas said that, by to-morrow, he hoped that they could agree upon the proper words to express what they all meant. If no one else desired to speak to-morrow he would say a few words.

Mr. Stuart said he would vote for the bill, but he did not believe the Missouri Compromise superseded by it, though it was clearly inconsistent with the act of 1850.

Messrs. Cass, Badger and Stuart continued the debate until after 4 o'clock, as to whether there was or not any difference between the two phrases. The bill was postponed.

Of the New England Senators, Toucey of Conn., and Norris and Williams of N. H., of course voted for the slaveholders. The two R. I. Senators were missing. All the others (five) voted for Mr. Chase's amendment.

In the Senate, Feb. 7th, the Nebraska bill again was taken up.

Mr. Douglas moved to amend the 14th section by a bill striking out these words in reference to the eighth section of the Missouri act, 'which was superseded by the principles of the legislation of 1850, commonly called the Compromise Measure, and hereby declared inoperative,' and insert in lieu thereof the following: 'which being inconsistent with the principles of non-intervention by Congress, with slavery in the states and territories, as recognized by the legislation of 1850, commonly called the Compromise Measures, is declared inoperative and void; it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.'

Mr. Everett said he desired an opportunity for expressing his views on the bill, and to explain the ground on which he had not been able to give his entire support, either in Committee or in the Senate, to the bill, as reported, or as it would read if amended as now proposed. He had no purpose to enter into any elaborate discussion on the territorial question. That was a great subject, and to discuss it properly, would require more time in preparation and examination than his other duties afforded him, since this bill was reported. His position as a member of the Committee induced him to give the reasons why he could not vote for the bill. He had not been able to understand what the effect of the amendment would be, nor the bearing it would have on the bill, and he would be glad, in order to get a little time to examine it, if the bill could be postponed till to-morrow.

Mr. Douglas objected, saying it had been openly avowed by the enemies of the bill, that their policy would be to postpone it day after day, and it became the friends of the bill to resist it. After further discussion, the bill was postponed. Adjourned.

'Senator Toucey, of Connecticut, *presided* at a caucus of those Senators who are in favor of the bill, on Friday morning, in the drawing-room of the Senate; and Norris of New Hampshire, Thompson of Pa., Petit and Bright of Illinois, Dodge and Jones of Iowa, and Gwin and Weller of California, from the free States, were also present, with enough from the slave States to ensure a decided majority. At this caucus, it was agreed that no other question should intervene, until a vote was had upon the bill. After its passage in the Senate, the power and patronage of the government will be directed entirely upon the lower house.'

Great Missouri Compromise Meeting!—The conservative portion of the citizens of New York—the solid merchants and the sagacious lawyers—met in Broadway Tabernacle, on Monday night, to remonstrate against the passage of the Douglas Bill. Nearly three thousand persons were present, and a strong and earnest feeling was manifested against the project of Douglas to violate the Missouri Compromise. Shepherd Knapp, President of the Mechanics' Bank, was Chairman, and over forty of the most prominent and wealthy citizens of New York were made Vice Presidents. Letters were read from Messrs. Seward, Chase, Sumner, Fish, Jones, and others. Judge Robert Emmet, of the Superior Court, then made a long and exceedingly able speech upon the Missouri Compromise, and the attempt to violate it by Mr. Douglas. He was followed by James W. Gerard, a lawyer who 'fired the first Compromise gun' at Castle Garden in 1850. He bore down severely upon Douglas, and declared that the Missouri Compromise must not be broken. He advised the South to take care—if the Compromise of 1820 can be broken—so can that of 1850!

A series of strong resolutions against the violation of the 1820 Compromise were passed unanimously.

Nebraska Meeting at Pittsburg.—A very large and enthusiastic meeting was held at Pittsburg on Monday evening, to protest against the admission of slavery into Nebraska. Men of all parties participated, and the expression was unanimous against it. A series of very spirited resolutions were passed. The two following are very much to the point:—

Resolved, That the disgrace clinging to the name of *Benedict Arnold*, will lose its pre-eminence in American history, and be measurably hid in the blacker and more hideous infamy that will forever stamp the characters of northern statesmen, who either for money bribes, or the equally base bribes of expected political promotion, sell themselves to pro-slavery fanaticism, and betraying the rights of their constituents, and the hopes of freedom, aim a fearful stab at the Union of these States, whose value the people of the North have ceased to consider greater than the value of human liberty and American honor.

Resolved, That if the Douglas Nebraska Bill should ever become a law, and should ever go into peaceful operation, which we doubt, it would completely Africanize the heart of the North American continent, and divide the Free States of the Atlantic from the Free States of the Pacific, by colonies of African bondmen, and thereby in effect exclude the free white race of the North from lands purchased by the whole nation from France, and afterward bought for freedom from the South by the North, at an extraordinary price, in 1820.

Size of Nebraska.—The *National Era* says on this point:—

'Nebraska embraces the whole of the unorganized Territory of the Union—the extent of its boundary is over three thousand miles—its area about five hundred thousand square miles—capable of being formed into a dozen States each as large as Ohio. This magnificent domain has been for a whole generation the heritage of Freedom—held, under the high sanction of American Law, sacred to Free Labor and Free Institutions. The Nebraska Bill proposes to abrogate this law, to remove the flaming sword which has turned every way, guarding it against slavery, and to allow the Destroyer to enter and do his work of death—or, to speak more plainly, to lay the foundations of a vast Slave Empire from the Gulf of Mexico to the British Provinces, dividing the Free States east of the Mississippi, from the Free States west of the Rock Mountains, and thereby obtaining the mastery of the Mississippi Valley, directly and indirectly, of both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts!'

☞ A very able address on Douglas's Nebraska Bill has been issued by the Independent Democrats in Congress.

Advices have reached Paris from St. Petersburg, of the 12th of January, which describe the position of affairs as affording little hope for the maintenance of peace. The Emperor is described by those who have an opportunity of observing his movements, as living in a state of religious exaltation, regarding himself as the chosen instrument, under the hand of God, to drive the Moslem from Europe, and only regretting that he should have allowed so many years to pass by without fulfilling his destiny. The populace at St. Petersburg have worked themselves up to the highest pitch of fanaticism, cheering the Emperor, whenever he appears in public, with the wildest enthusiasm, and denouncing as traitors all who dare to speak of peace.

☞ Advices from St. Petersburg of the 8th, state that there were preliminary indications of a rupture with France and England, and of the recall of the Russian Ambassadors.

Awful Explosion.—Mr. French's Ball Cartridge factory, at Ravenswood, L. I., exploded and was blown to atoms on the 28th ult., causing a loss of seventeen lives, scattering the bodies and fragments in every direction. They were mostly boys and girls employed in filling cartridges. All the buildings within a circuit of two miles were violently shaken. There were over 50,000 cartridges in the factory. The *Tribune* says:—

The vicinity was thickly strewn with conical rifle and pistol balls, broken fragments of the building, burnt clothing, gouts of blood, bits of human flesh, brains, whitened bones, broken machinery, charred cartridge-boxes, and a thousand other things in ragged ruin. The buildings, fences, &c. bore evidence of the fearful force of the explosion. The rocky foundations of the building were blown in all directions—huge granite rocks of half a ton were torn up from the ground, and hurled into the adjoining fields. The fences and trees were completely riddled by the balls. In some trees, between three and four hundred yards distance, we observed numbers of leaden cones buried deep in the trunk. The rocks were covered with white spots, thick as hail stones, where the balls had struck against them. Heavy pieces of the iron machinery were blown all around, within a radius of 200 yards. At a distance of 300 yards were the barrels of six or seven muskets, all bent and twisted and shattered. The wood of which the building was composed was blown into pieces small enough for kindling purposes.

Leaping several fences to the westward, we entered a low one-story building; the windows were all blown in, and its only living tenant was ourself. In one corner of the rooom were two or three lime barrels, in which were the remains of what had once been breathing, thinking humanity. Nothing was now distinguishable save clotted blood, blackened, charred and whitened bones, and entrails, with here a finger and there a toe, or a small piece of white unburnt skin, all mixed up in endless confusion; not a single piece of it being larger than a child's hand.

A female had both her legs blown off from the thighs; one of her arms was torn off at the shoulder, and the other was twisted under her body. She did not bleed; it seemed as if every drop of blood had either been blown from her veins or scorched up by the quick fire. About 40 yards nearer we came to the head of a little boy, his curly brown hair showing in patches from among the burnt blackness of the rest. On the bank was the upper part of the body of a young girl. The top of her head from the eyes had been blown off, her body was blown away below the chest, and both her arms were gone; yet this mutilated remnant of humanity, still dripping with the warm life's blood, was smiling—actually smiling; what was left of her face was white, as if alive, and it seemed as if she was in the act of laughter at the time her death so suddenly overtook her; the merry laugh still dimpled her cheeks and lurked around her lips, and she was in another world.

Mrs. Hand was looking for her boy Matthew, about 15 years old. At length she found a leg, all shattered and scorched, which she recognized as her son's, by the patched boot, and stocking of her knitting. She took it up tenderly, and said, 'Oh, my poor Matt., is this all that is left of you for me?' And then she gently wrapped it in her apron and shawl, and tenderly bore it to her home.

Upon the lowermost part of the railing, a woman's body struck, and her brains still adhered to the wood. Such was the fact, and so great had been the force of the shock that the wood was stove in.

Henry Bray, 10 years of age, son of Dennis Bray, residing at Astoria, was blown into pieces; a part of his face, one ear, one foot and one leg were all that could be found of his remains. This lad had several times told his parents that they were near being blown up that day by the boys putting their tin dinner-kettles on the stove when wet powder was sticking to the bottoms of them. They enjoyed the sport by seeing the kettles hop about upon the hot stove by the burning of the powder upon them. Mrs. Bray asked the boy what the boss said about it, and the reply was, that he only laughed, and said that was fun for them.

The remains of the following persons, or such portions of the bodies as could be identified, were buried in the Catholic burying ground in Astoria, at 4½ o'clock in the afternoon. The procession of people in carriages which followed them to the grave was nearly a mile in length.

Henry Bray—Portions of the remains.
Anna Burns—Her head only.
Matthew Hand—One foot only.
Ellen McDonald—Her feet gone.
Thomas O'Brien—Whole body, with the exception of one hand.
John Riley—With the exception of some small portions of his body and head.
Emma Ryan—Entire body.
Matthew Ryan—Entire body.
James Gorman—Entire body, with the exception of his arms and one leg.

The gathering up of the fragments of the dead was a work of extreme danger and labor. The bodies were in a few instances nearly whole; but the greater number were torn to shreds. Men were busy all the day and evening in looking for missing portions of some half-recovered body. Here an arm, crushed and blackened; there a foot, burned and shriveled; yonder a strip of flesh impaled upon a picket; on one side a scalp, the long beautiful hair scorched and bloody; under foot, part of a skull, whose slippery convexity has nearly tripped the horrified searcher; there a mass of brains frozen to the consistency of stone. On every hand, under every timber, on every adjacent building, in all the shrubbery around, were these dreadful evidences of destruction.

Great Fire at New Orleans, and Loss of Life.—One of the most destructive fires on record, broke out last Saturday morning on board the steamer Charles Belcher. The flames spread with frightful rapidity, and in a short time extended to the steamers lying alongside—at the levee. An immense amount of produce—cotton, flour, provisions and hemp—was on board these vessels, all of which is destroyed. An immense amount of produce on the wharves was also consumed. The loss is estimated at one million of dollars. Some of the fire engines have fallen over the levee into the water. Thirty-two negroes and five white men have perished in the flames. They were persons chiefly employed on the boats.

Six steamers were consumed—namely, the Charles Belcher, Natchez, Mohegan, Saxon, Grand Turk, Leah, and Luna. They were valued at $300,000, and mostly insured in Western offices.

There was another fire in Charters street, which destroyed two valuable stores, and badly damaged two others. Loss estimated at $100,000.

Fires in January.—Fires were unusually frequent during the month just expired, throughout the country, though the aggregate loss of property was less than in the month preceding, when the losses in this city alone, in consequence of the burning of Harpers' establishment, three clippers, &c., reached the enormous amount of nearly or quite two million and a half of dollars. The following table embraces the principal fires that occurred in the United States during January, so far as the losses are ascertained:—

January	4th, Albion, Michigan,	$17,000
"	7th, Louisville, Kentucky,	50,000
"	7th, Portland, Maine,	150,000
"	8th, New York,	500,000
"	8th, Reading, Pennsylvania,	100,000
"	9th, New York,	20,000
"	10th, Brooklyn,	17,000
"	10th, Detroit, Michigan,	85,000
"	16th, Savannah, Georgia,	60,000
"	17th, North Brookfield, Mass.,	20,000
"	18th, Oakdale, Mass.,	10,000
"	19th, New York,	100,000
"	19th, Ogdensburg, N. Y.,	10,000
"	21st, Dansville, N. Y.,	10,000
"	21st, Rochester, N. Y.,	150,000
"	22d, Elmira, N. Y.,	10,000
"	23d, Philadelphia,	10,000
"	25th, Winchester, Virginia,	15,000
"	26th, Northampton, Mass.,	15,000
"	27th, Buffalo, N. Y.,	10,000
"	28th, New York,	185,000
"	28th, New Orleans,	80,000
"	29th, Worcester, Mass.,	45,000
"	29th, East Hampton, Mass.,	20,000
	Total,	$1,639,000

Besides these, there have been destructive fires in Alleghany City, Penn., Castleton, Vt., and Colchester, Ct., the losses by which are not stated. New York city continues to be the severest sufferer, her losses by fire during January having been at least $800,000.—*N. Y. Journal of Com.*

☞ On the 1st inst., a fugitive slave, who was taken from a vessel below New York, arrived at Norfolk, Va., in custody of the U. S. Deputy Marshal.

Sale of Negroes.—A gang of 58 negroes accustomed to the culture of cotton, was sold at auction yesterday, by A. J. White, in families, for the round sum of $34,854, which is an average of a little over $600.—*Charleston Mercury, 3d.*

The first Victim of the Fugitive Law in Ohio.—The Cincinnati *Gazette* says it is said 'that Washington McQuerry, the fugitive slave, whose arrest and rendition by Judge McLean excited much attention in that city in August last, has made a second escape from slavery, and is now with his wife and children on their way to Canada.'

☞ England is actively recruiting her coast volunteer artillery and coast defence guard. Ten thousand men are wanted. Exertions are also making to man the navy, and more ships are fitting out, but apparently to land forces.

NO SLAVERY IN NEBRASKA!
Freedom for All the North!

The Slave Power is now making efforts, never before equalled, to extend its influence, by an attempt to overturn the law which in 1820 solemnly dedicated to freedom forever, the territory now known as Nebraska. There is the most imminent danger that slavery will be extended north of the line of 36 degrees and 30 minutes of north latitude, and that thereby Slave States will be planted in the pathway of travel and commerce to the Pacific Ocean, all the distance from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains. In view of this impending danger, it is the duty of every friend of Freedom to utter his protest against the iniquitous schemes for the violation of the plighted faith of the Congress, by the surrender of Nebraska to Slavery.

Therefore, a State Convention of Massachusetts Men has been called, to meet in Faneuil Hall, on THURSDAY, the 16th of February, to consult upon measures to prevent the consummation of this great political and moral evil.

Every friend of Freedom is invited to attend this Convention, and aid in swelling the tide of public opinion of the North, which alone can arrest the proposed action of Congress for the extension of Slavery in Nebraska.

By order of the Committee of Arrangements.

JUSTICE TO WOMEN.

CONVENTION AT ALBANY,
TUESDAY AND WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 14 AND 15.

The Petition, asking for such amendments in the Statutes and Constitution of New York as will secure to the women of the State LEGAL EQUALITY with the men, and to females equally with the males a RIGHT TO SUFFRAGE, will be presented to the Legislature about the middle of February. We, the Committee appointed at the Convention held at Rochester in December,—by whose authority these petitions were issued,—do hereby invite all fellow-citizens, of either sex, who are in favor of these measures, to assemble in Convention, at Albany, on Tuesday and Wednesday, February 14 and 15.

The so-called 'Women's Rights Movement' has been so much misrepresented, that it is desirable to make the appeal for justice earnest, imposing and effective, by showing how eminently equitable are its principles—how wise and practical are its measures. Let the serious-minded, generous, hopeful men and women of New York then gather in council, to determine whether there is any thing irrational or revolutionary in the proposal that fathers, brothers, husbands, should treat their daughters, sisters, wives and mothers as their peers. This reform is designed, by its originators, to make woman *womanly*, in the highest sense of that term—to exalt, not to degrade—to perfect, not to impair, her refining influence in every sphere. The demand made is only to take off burdens, to remove hindrances, to leave women free, as men are free, to follow conscience and judgment in all scenes of duty. On what ground,—except the right of *might*,—do men, claiming to be Republicans and Christians, deny to women privileges which they would die to gain and keep for themselves? What evil—what but good—can come from enlarging woman's power of usefulness? How can society be otherwise than a gainer by the increased moral and mental influence of one-half of its members? Let these and similar questions be fairly, candidly, thoroughly discussed in the hearing of the Legislature of New York.

Come, then, fellow-citizens, to this Convention, prepared to speak, to hear, to act. LUCY STONE, WENDELL PHILLIPS, MRS. C. I. H. NICHOLS, and other earnest friends of the cause from New England and the West, as well as from our own State, are to be with us. And may the spirit of truth preside over all!

ELIZABETH C. STANTON, WM. HENRY CHANNING,
SAMUEL J. MAY, WM. HAY,
ERNESTINE L. ROSE, BURROUGHS PHILLIPS,
ANTOINETTE L. BROWN, LYDIA ANN JENKINS,
SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

JOSEPH BARKER,
OF OHIO,

Proposes to deliver six Lectures, in the city of Boston, on the following topics:—

THE BIBLE—ITS ORIGIN, CHARACTER, AND TENDENCY.

Is it the production of God, or of man? Is it a mass of divine oracles, or human thoughts? Is it all true and good, or is it a mixture of truth and error? Is its tendency, when recognized as of divine authority, good or evil?

Discussion allowed after each lecture. The lecturer offers to discuss the whole question with any recognized minister of the leading churches of the country.

☞ The Lectures will be delivered in the MELODEON, on TUESDAY, WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY and FRIDAY evening, Feb. 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th—and on MONDAY and TUESDAY evenings, Feb. 13th, and 14th. Admission fee, 10 cents.

COURSE OF LECTURES ON SLAVERY.

An association of gentlemen have made arrangements for the delivery of a course of lectures on the subject of Slavery, in view of the present critical condition of our country.

The introductory lecture will be delivered by the Rev. HENRY WARD BEECHER, of Brooklyn, N. Y., on THURSDAY EVENING, Feb. 9, at 7½ o'clock, in PARK STREET CHURCH.

CANADA MISSION—HELP SOLICITED.

The subscriber would respectfully inform his friends, that his mission to the Refugees in Canada is in great need of 'MATERIAL AID,' and as he is to spend a few days in Boston and vicinity, he will thankfully receive donations sent to him, in the care of Robert F. Wallcut, 21 Cornhill. HIRAM WILSON.

Boston, Jan. 31, 1854.

☞ HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold meetings at Harwich, Friday, February 10, evening, and all day the Sunday following. Will lecture before the Worcester A. S. Society, on Friday evening, February 17; and will hold meetings in Feltonville, on the Sunday following, all day.

☞ Mrs. ELLENORA JOHNSON, at No. 10, May street Arch, May street, is very desirous of employment in plain sewing and dress-making. She is quite competent to what she undertakes, and is very deserving of aid. Her husband went to sea more than a year since, and has not been heard from for nearly a year; leaving her and her boy to her sole care; and for several months, during the autumn and winter, she was disabled for work by sickness. For any further information, inquire of S. May, Jr., 21 Cornhill.

☞ If BENJAMIN WILLIAMS, formerly of Virginia, will call at No. 34 Divinity Hall, Cambridge, or upon Rev. T. Parker, No. 1 Exeter Place, Boston, he will learn something of interest to himself. If he is at a distance from Boston, he is requested to address a letter to Mr. Parker. 4t

☞ The Printers of the *Liberator* wish to communicate with Rev. Thos. H. Jones, a colored preacher, who was travelling in this region last summer. Will any of our readers give us his address?

TO CORRESPONDENTS. A communication from Mr. Sunderland, in reply to Mr. Quincy, was received too late for insertion this week. The favor of 'H. O. S.' shall appear in our next number. We solicit a continuance of his contributions.

☞ The opening lecture on THE BIBLE, by JOSEPH BARKER, on Tuesday evening, at the Melodeon, was able and lucid, and was attentively listened to by an appreciating audience. Go and hear him.

RECEIPTS

Into the Treasury of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, from Jan. 1st, 1853, to Jan. 1st, 1854.

Balance in Treasury on 1st Jan., 1853,	$323 62
Rec'd from proceeds of Anti-Slavery Bazaar, Boston,	3160 72
Rec'd from proceeds of do. at Worcester,	350 00
" Old Colony A. S. Society, at sundry times	21 00
Rec'd from Reading A. S. Society,	15 00
" Essex Co. do., at sundry times,	32 00
" West Brookfield do,	50 00
" Middlesex Co. do,	7 00
" Worcester Co. South do, at sundry times,	68 43
Rec'd from Stoneham Female do,	4 00
" Hingham do,	5 00
" Worcester Co. North do,	30 00
" Weymouth Female do,	100 00
" West Brookfield Female do,	6 67
" Ladies' Society at Hyannis,	5 00
" friends in Abington,	140 00
" Women of East Abington,	40 15
" collections at Annual Meeting,	541 79
" do. at N. E. Convention	473 48
" do. on 4th July celebration at Abington,	58 97
Rec'd from collections at 1st August celebration at Framingham,	61 86
Rec'd from individual donations, pledges and subscriptions, and from collections by Agents at public meetings and of individuals, as published monthly in the *Liberator*,	2426 13
Total amount of receipts,	$7920 82

The disbursements, during the same period, have been as follows, viz:—

To Parker Pillsbury, for his services and expenses as Agent,	$470 41
To Lucy Stone, for do, do. do.	28 05
" Rent of office and taxes,	267 29
" Samuel May, Jr., Gen'l Agent, for services,	749 99
" " for expenses as Agent,	38 93
" Lewis Ford, for services,	4 00
" Daniel Foster, for services and expenses as Agent,	260 12
" Robert F. Wallcut, for services in office,	492 84
" C. L. Remond, for services as Agent,	19 48
" Sallie Holley, for services and expenses as Agent,	338 50
To G. B. Stebbins, for do. do. do,	147 27
" A. T. Foss, for do. do. do,	52 77
" Treasurer American A. S. Society,	3460 72
" Expenses of Annual Meeting in Boston, including Reporting,	217 48
To expenses of New England Convention in Boston,	96 11
To reporting speeches at do,	50 00
" expenses of 4th of July celebration at Abington,	34 33
To do of 1st of August celebration at Framingham,	51 58
To Fifty copies of *Liberator* sent members of Congress,	32 50
To Stephen S. Foster, for services and expenses as Agent,	128 64
To J. J. Locke, for do. do. do,	38 39
" printing Annual Report and other publications,	187 00
Total expenditures,	7166 38
Leaving balance in Treasury, Jan. 1st,	754 44
	$7920 82

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, *Treasurer.*
Brookline, Jan. 3, 1854.

BOSTON, Jan. 9, 1854.

I have examined the foregoing account of the Treasurer, and find it correct and properly vouched.

EDMUND JACKSON, *Auditor.*

Notices of Meetings, &c.

LECTURES
ON THE
HARMONIAL PHILOSOPHY,
AND UPON
PHYSIOLOGICAL VIRTUES AND VICES.
BY ANDREW JACKSON DAVIS.

Commencing at the Melodeon, on Sunday, February 12th, at half-past 7 o'clock, P. M.

THE FIRST LECTURE

Considers the general question, reviews the condition of society, defines the subject, and prepares the young and old, of both sexes, for a candid hearing of the Lectures. The human brain is described by a diagram.

THE SECOND LECTURE

Opens with 'the analysis of the Human Affections,' shows by means of diagrams their position in the head, how they may be thrown into *extreme* or *inverted* conditions, with a description of the consequences, and concludes with a view of the general question of Marriage.

THE FOURTH LECTURE

Is concerning the 'Characteristics and Vices of Extremeists.' This class, male and female, is particularly delineated. The young of both sexes, as well as parents, should hear this lecture. The ideas are illustrated with diagrams.

THE FIFTH LECTURE

Is concerning the 'Characteristics and Vices of Inversionists.' This Lecture is also very important to young persons. The married particularly should hear it.

THE SIXTH LECTURE

Is devoted to an examination of the various 'causes of Extremeism and Inversionism.' The effects of certain foods and drinks upon the reproductive organs, and of turning night into day, are each considered. The effects of these causes on character are illustrated with diagrams. All should hear it.

THE SEVENTH LECTURE

Is concerning the 'Origin and Dependence of Love.' The importance of Man, as a being, is considered. Man's relation to lower nature, and the origin of Life. The cause of disaffection among the married, and the remedy.

THE EIGHTH LECTURE

Treats of 'The Origin, Nature, and Mission of Marriage. The whole question of Marriage is considered. The Laws of Happiness are defined, and the query, 'What do Harmonialists think of Marriage?'—is answered.

The whole is illustrated by simple diagrams made from and after interiorily examining different characters of whom the cuts are exact copies.

It is hoped that these Lectures will do much toward reforming mankind.

☞ Admission, 10 cents.

GERMANIA MUSICAL SOCIETY
WILL GIVE A
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ON EVERY SATURDAY EVENING,
Until the 10th of March, inclusive.

Performing alternately Classical Music in one, and Lighter Music in the other Concert.

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Additional sets and half-sets of Subscription Tickets can be procured at Wade's Music Store.

Single Tickets, 50 cents each.

☞ REN. ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:—

Newburyport	Tuesday eve'g,	Feb.	14.
Groveland	Wednes. "	"	15.
Lawrence	Thursday "	"	16.
Methuen,	Friday "	"	17.

☞ CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, an Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:—

Rowley	Friday eve'g,	Feb.	10.
Plymouth	Sunday	"	12.
Kingston	Monday eve'g,	"	13.
Duxbury	Tuesday "	"	14.
Marshfield	Wednesday "	"	15.
West Duxbury	Thursday "	"	16.
Hanson	Friday "	"	17.
Abington	Sunday	"	19,
South Abington	Monday eve'g	"	20.
E. Bridgewater; Joppa Vill'ge,	Tuesday "	"	21.
West do.	Wednesday "	"	22.
Bridgewater	Thursday "	"	23.
Middleboro',	Friday "	"	24.
Hingham	Saturday "	"	25.
South Hingham	Sunday, "	"	26.

☞ REV. ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, will lecture in PORTSMOUTH, N. H., on Sunday evening next, Feb. 12.

☞ LORING MOODY will lecture on anti-slavery in

Newburyport	Sunday,	Feb. 12.
Haverhill	Sunday,	" 19.

☞ LUCY STONE'S Post-office address, for the present, is West Brookfield, Mass.

MOTORPATHIC CARD.

DR. HALSTED

CLOSES his institution at Rochester, N. Y., until the 15th of April next, to comply with the solicitations of many Physicians and Ladies, who are anxious to avail themselves of his new mode of curing disease. His object in making this tour, beside that of treating some particular cases, is to give medical men such practical evidence as may lead to a more wise method of treating Uterine and Chronic Diseases. It is his desire to extend to the Faculty every possible facility for testing the merits of his discovery. Physicians, therefore, are particularly invited to call with patients under their charge. His system of Therapeutics is simple, rational and reliable, and based upon new pathological principles—a system by which the worst forms of *Prolapsus Uteri* and most functional and organic derangements are cured. The principles of Motorpathy have been thoroughly tested in a home institution, where some five thousand cases of female diseases alone have been successfully treated. Many of these were inveterate cases of from one to twenty-two years' standing; some of them accompanied with extreme urinary difficulties. Many cases of *Prolapsus Uteri* can be cured by one visit; others in a few days; and the most difficult in a few weeks. To produce this almost instantaneous relief, the patient is subjected to no pain or inconvenience. No supporters, or any of the usual treatment is employed. When the organ is made to assume its proper position, the patient is immediately able to go through any ordinary exercise which she has strength to perform, without fear of displacement. Motorpathic treatment gives vitality and force to all the organs in the discharge of their proper functions, and is most effectual in restoring the constitution from the effects of self-indulgence and dissipation. It has been proven to be peculiarly adapted for the cure of Incipient Consumption, Paralysis, and the many and multiform complaints originating in Curviture or Irritation of the Spine. Its efficacy in the relief of partial insanity and diseases of the liver is beyond a question.

Dr. HALSTED will be in Boston, at the Revere House, from the 19th to the 30th of January; in Worcester, on the 1st of February; in Springfield, at the Massasoit House, on February 3d and 4th; in Northampton, on February 6th; in Hartford, Ct., at Hartford City Hotel, on February 8th; in Meriden, on February 10th; in Chester, at Chester Hotel, on February 14th; in New Haven, at Tontine House, on February 16th; and in New York, on February 20th, at St. Nicholas Hotel, Broadway; where he will remain a few weeks. Communications addressed to him, en route, will receive prompt attention. His work on *Motorpathy* can be obtained of him, or be sent to any address, postage free, on the reception of ten postage stamps.

January 13

The Year 1853
Has been a year prolific in good Books.
John P. Jewett & Company,

Among their numerous issues, have published the following, which have met with great favor from the public, and large sales, and which should be found in every Library.

Mrs. Child's Life of Isaac T. Hopper,

One of the most intensely interesting books ever published. 10,000 copies in 4 months.

THE SHADY SIDE,
BY MRS. HUBBELL.

A thrilling tale of the vicissitudes of a country minister's life. [illegible]4,000 copies in 8 months.

THE MYSTERIOUS PARCHMENT
OR, SATANIC LICENSE.

A powerfully written Temperance Tale. *Fourth Thousand.*

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BY REV. RUFUS W. CLARK.

First thousand sold in four days.

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OR, LEAVES OF CONSOLATION FOR THE AFFLICTED.
BY MRS. H. DWIGHT WILLIAMS.

A beautiful gift for a friend in affliction.

THE LAST HOURS OF CHRIST.
BY W. G. SCHAUFFLER, Missionary at Constantinople.

A religious work of rare excellence and beauty.

THE PERSIAN FLOWER,

Being a Memoir of a daughter of Rev. Justin Perkins, of Persia. A sweet child.

DR. E. C. ROGERS'S GREAT WORK
ON THE
Philosophy of Mysterious Agents.

The most learned and satisfactory explanation of the spirit rappings yet published.

The Writings of Prof. B. B. Edwards,
WITH A MEMOIR BY DR. PARK.

Similitudes from the Ocean and the Prairie.
BY LUCY LARCOM.

Literally, a book of gems, or string of pearls.

A SABBATH SCEN
BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

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HINTS FOR THE HOUSEHOLD,
BY REV. WM. M. THAYER.

☞ *Attend to your Teeth!*

J. S. ROCK, M.D.,
DENTIST,
(LATE FROM PHILADELPHIA,)

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A beautiful silver Medal, and a heavy gold Pencil, have been awarded for his beautiful specimens of Artificial Teeth.

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'We have seen several specimens of Artificial Teeth, manufactured by Dr. J. S. Rock, which, for beauty of workmanship, and elegance of finish, will equal, if not surpass, any specimens that we have ever seen. The Doctor has a high reputation as a Surgeon Dentist.'—*Daily News.*

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'The Artificial Teeth manufactured by Dr. J. S. Rock, exhibit taste and judgment in their manufacture.'—*Daily Sun.*

'The Artificial Teeth manufactured by Dr. Rock, are quite superior.'—*Sunday Dispatch.*

'Dr. Rock manufactures the most splendid specimens of Artificial Teeth that we have ever beheld.'—*N. Y. Tribune.*

Dr. J. S. Rock performs all operations appertaining to his profession in a skilful manner, *his terms and operations are easy, which speak volumes in his favor.*'—*Mercury.*

Boston, February 10. tf

Sunderland's New Method of Cure

FOR all forms of Disease, by NUTRITION, *without medicine*.—The desire for *Narcotics* destroyed! Available for the *Sick*, the *Lame*, the *Deaf* and the *Blind*, in any part of the country! No need of personal consultations.—Pamphlets of *Information* sent, *post free*, on receipt of one *dime*, *pre-paid*. Address NEW METHOD OF CURE, 28 *Eliot st.*, BOSTON, Mass.

January 27.

A New Work for the Public.

SPIRIT INTERCOURSE, containing Incidents of Personal Experience, from notes taken while investigating the NEW Phenomena of Spirit Thought and Action; together with various Spirit Communications through himself as Medium. By HERMAN SNOW, late Unitarian Minister at Montague, Mass. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. For sale also by Partridge & Brittan, New York; by Bela Marsh, 25 Cornhill, and by the Author, at Harmony Hall, 103 Court st., Boston.

January 13.

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

NEBRASKA AND THE LITTLE GIANT.

BY GEORGE W. BUNGAY.

Without the stature of a full-grown man,
Or mind of more than common calibre,
He claimed to be the giant of the West.
And yet this Tom Thumb Titan is not seen,
Save when he climbs upon a negro's back,
Or struts and spouts upon an auction-block—
A platform, where, in all the gilded pomp
Of pigmy grandeur, little giants stand.
If Douglas be the western Brobdignag,
What little Lilliputians are we all!
The torch of genius shines not in his eyes,
The gods have set no seal upon his brow,
His speeches have no spirit in their words,
Mere mobs of syllables, devoid of souls.
Thoughts are to words what souls to bodies are;
But Douglas is ambitious, and aspires
To highest honors, though deserving none.
He sacrificed the freedom of his State,
Made it the bye-word of a mocking world,
The most inhospitable spot on earth,
The black sheep in the bleating flock of States,
That he might gain the presidential chair.
'Tis said at Rome he kissed Pope Nino's toe;
But had the pontiff known how mean a thing
Was crawling there, he would have spurned him back.
Now fair Nebraska, like a virgin pure,
Would join the rosy sisterhood of States,
And he is forging galling gyves for her,
And braiding scourges for her tender flesh.
Shall the free winds that sweep Nebraska's vales,
Be burdened with the shriek of her despair?
Shall the free waves that wash Nebraska's shore,
Blush with the blood to flow from furrowed backs,
That such a pigmy may be President?
Forbid it, wise and learned senators!
Brave Benton, speak! thy words are bullion now;
Our hearts are coffers, waiting to be filled.
Nestor of freedom! be Nebraska's friend;
White-haired chieftain of the broad free West!
As sun and moon stood still while Joshua fought,
So will our Northern lights illume thy path,
Until the little Amorite is slain.
Let Everett, with his polished lance, defend
The honor and the freedom of the State;
And Sumner, with his silver trumpet, wake
The torpid North from sleep which seals her eyes;
Let Great-heart Smith unsheath his two-edged sword,
And fight until Nebraska's foes have fled.
Hero of San Jacinto! arm for war!
Douglas, like Santa Anna, stands upon
One leg; go, capture him, and save the State!
Let pulpit, press, platform, and people speak,
Ere the assassin of our liberty
Shall sheath his dagger in the nation's heart!

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

HAWORTH WETHERALD.*

BY B. RUSH PLUMLY.

Dead! Thou art not dead! Thy spirit,
Though it passeth from our sight,
Far beyond the shadowy valley,
Hath its own immortal light;
As the sun a cloud obscureth,
Still above our feeble view,
With a self-existent brightness,
Shineth in the boundless blue.

Dead! Thou art not dead! Thou livest
In the good deeds thou hast done:
They have gone before thee, brother,
To thy new life just begun.

They will be melodious ushers,
Ringing through the heavenly homes,
With a far and sweet announcement,
'Room! a soul of beauty comes!'

Thou shalt hear a reässurance
From the shining spirit band,
As their tender love shall lead thee
In the glory of that land,

Till thine eye can bear the brightness,
And thy foot shall lose its fear;
And thy spirit, self-adjusted,
Swayeth in its largest sphere.

We shall miss thee; miss thy counsel,
Ever sweet, and true, and brave;
Miss thee, when our hearts are heavy
With the wailing of the slave:

Miss thee, in the heat and burden
Of the battle-field of life;
Miss thy steady, cheerful presence,
Strong and earnest in the strife.

Thou wert meek and unassuming,
But in truth and duty skilled;
Still believing and heroic,
All thy modest orbit filled.

Lifted from thy limitations
To that new and shining sphere,
Do immortal love and beauty
Break upon thy eye and ear?

Reapest thou the full fruition
Of thy spirit's human hope?
Does the end from its beginning
To thy larger vision ope?

Seëst thou from human sorrow
Still a deeper joy evolve,
And the discords that surround us
Into harmonies resolve?

Brother, from thy height attaining,
Help us in the trial hour!
Thou hast left us; we are weaker;
Touch us with thy larger power!

* A most devoted friend of the slave, recently deceased near Philadelphia.—[Ed. Lib.

AN ANGEL IN THE WAY.

Fair the downward path is spread,
Love and light thy coming greet,
Fruit is blushing o'er thy head,
Flowers are springing 'neath thy feet.
Mirth and Sin, with tossing hands,
Wave thee on, a willing prey:
Yet an instant pause—there stands
An angel in the way.

Heed the heavenly warning—know
Fairest flowers the feet may trip;
Fruits, that like the sunset glow,
Turn to ashes on the lip.
Though the joys be wild and free,
Though the paths be pleasant, stay!
Even mortal eye can see
An angel in the way.

Wilt thou drown in worldly pleasure?
Wilt thou have, like him of old,
Length of days and store of treasure,
Wisdom, glory, power and gold?
Life and limb shall sickness waste,
Want shall grind thee day by day;
Still, to win thee, God hath placed
An angel in the way.

A TEAR.

Some feelings are to mortals given,
With less of earth in them than heaven;
And if there be a human tear
From passion's dross refined and clear,
A tear so limpid and so meek,
It would not stain an angel's cheek,
'Tis that which pious fathers shed
Upon a duteous daughter's head.

THE LIBERATOR.

[Reported for the Philadelphia Register.]

GREAT DEBATE ON THE BIBLE,

BETWEEN MR. JOSEPH BARKER, OF OHIO, AND REV. DR. BERG, OF PHILADELPHIA.

[CONTINUED.]

THIRD EVENING—(concluded.)

Dr. Berg. (As this gentleman rose from his seat, there was a burst of applause; when he reached the stand, there was a second one, more general and enthusiastic. A few sounds of h'sh.)

My opponent compels me, by his present mode of argument, to lay aside the more calm discussion, which I would greatly prefer, from prepared notes, and to resort to extemporaneous refutation. I much regret that the preliminary arrangements of this discussion have been forgotten by my opponent, and that he introduces subjects entirely foreign to the topic in hand. The consequence of this is, that the form of the discussion is not regular; and that wherever he has wandered, I have been compelled to ask your indulgence for following him. I am glad that he did not repeat his charge against me, that I did not answer his objections. I have answered them as fast as I could talk; and he knows full well, that it requires far less time to make an objection, than to answer it. I find, too, that his frequently refuted arguments are again and again presented. Before I go farther, I would respectfully remind my opponent I have asked him several questions, which he has not yet answered. I would now repeat them, and again request an answer, whenever it may suit his convenience to give it, and not one moment before. I ask him—

1. What is the name of the Supreme Being he worships?

2. What are the attributes of that Supreme Being?

3. How are these attributes revealed to him? How does he know these attributes belong to Him, when he does not know His name? He said that he had seen infidels die without fear, because they believed in a God of love, free from malignity. This is true of Christians: their God is one of infinite compassion and love, and they go to him with the confidence with which they would to a father. My opponent says that the heathen know the attributes of the Supreme Being from his works, and that Paul affirms that his eternal power and love are known from nature. These do not, however, include all the attributes of Jehovah. Now I would like to know how the others were revealed to them; and I beg him to answer me, unless he is unable to tell.

My opponent discards the idea, that there is nothing besides laws for the government of the universe; he admits that there is something back of malaria, for the production of disease. This is certainly an advance towards the orthodox faith. (General applause and laughter.) I am glad he is coming over, and that this discussion is doing him some good. But his views are not yet orthodox. He admits that there is something back of marshes; that there are not only fixed laws, but a law-giver, who superintends and controls their operation. If he says that God fixes the laws, and then leaves their operations to take care of themselves, he is in the bog of atheism. (Slight applause and cries of h'sh.) I find myself under the necessity of correcting a few personal mistakes, for which my opponent is, perhaps, not to blame in one respect, but in another. A report published in some of the papers makes him say, that we were born and educated in the same borough.

Mr. Barker. I did not say that.

Dr. Berg. What did you say?

Mr. Barker. I said that we were born under the same government, and that you were educated in the same parish in which I was born.

Dr. Berg. I will state the way in which Mr. Barker became possessed of his information. In the preliminary arrangement for this discussion, Mr. Barker complained, that in a former debate, my friend, Mr. McCalla, had used his foreign origin to excite prejudice against him. I then said that I had crossed the water too. But though there is this in common between us, there are some striking differences between us. I crossed when I was a child of 13 years of age; I received my education in this country, and have been here twenty-eight years; and though I love its institutions, my opponent is no worse in my estimation, though he is from a foreign land. I shall ever look with love towards the land where cluster my associations of school and childhood. But I would remark that there is this difference between us:—I did not come to preach disorder and sedition; nor to upset the government and institutions of the country; nor to insist upon topics which—(murmurs of disapprobation, hisses, cries of question, and go on, bravos, and some applause; it was a minute or two before order was restored.)

Dr. Berg. Allow me, my friends, to finish my sentence, and do not take up my time with applause. In alluding to this topic, I disclaim all intention to excite any feeling of angry hostility against Mr. Barker. My only object was, to prevent the introduction into this debate of a topic wholly foreign to it, and which I have understood, from several sources, my opponent was resolved to force into it. I wished to forestal this, by stating the chief differences between us. I think that when a foreigner enjoys the benefit of our institutions, he should not interfere with them; that modesty requires him to leave their reform to those who are better entitled to discuss them. My opponent objects to the Scriptures, that the original MSS. are lost; and that there are diversities in the copies. I would ask him, what work of antiquity is not open to precisely the same objections? Is not the original MS. of Homer's Iliad lost? Are there not diversities in the copies preserved? Would he reject it on that account, and say that there is no such book? and that the story of Homer is entitled to no credit? Virgil's Æneid is in precisely the same case. And would he refuse to receive the commentaries of Cæsar, because the original MS. is lost, and there are different readings? And let us come to modern times.

If I present you Shakspeare's plays, do you think of this? How about the original manuscripts? Well, where are they? Have they not been copied and recopied? I do not pretend to deny, that in a work, the transcripts of which have been handed down from century to century, there are not occasional interpolations. It is admitted that these exist in the Bible; but my opponent can make nothing of this. The tendency of his argument is to prove that there is no Bible; and it bears as severely on his side, as on mine. We have the highest judicial authority in Europe and the United States for saying that it is settled as law, that the best evidence is where substantial agreement is accompanied with circumstantial variety. The variations in Shakspeare are the best proofs of the former existence of an original, and thus is my opponent's argument on this point scattered to the winds. (Slight applause, a few hisses, and cries of h'sh.)

My opponent says that I called him some thirty or forty foul names. If I did, I am sorry for it. But I have no recollection of doing so. What I did, I may do again, for when this blessed book lays down a principle, I accept it as true. If it says that certain expressions are blasphemy, and a man uses them, he is a blasphemer, and I can't help it. If it says that persons who act in a certain way are children of the devil, and I call them by that name, I can't help it. All that I can say, is, that if my opponent feels that the cap fits him, he can wear it.

My opponent has cited the denunciation by Christ of the Pharisees as applicable to ministers and professors of the Gospel, and quotes Isaiah to prove that the Jews were more vile than the Gentiles. Can this be a charge upon the Bible?

Does the prophet not utter his denunciations against those who refuse the Gospel? Does not Christ speak of the Scribes and Pharisees as his enemies? To the enemies of the Bible, then, do these passages refer. (Slight applause.) To them belongs the appellation of hypocrites; to them pertains the denunciation of Christ. Of them it is said, Ye serpents, how shall ye escape the damnation of hell? (General applause.) Again, he says that the Bible reflects upon the character of God, by representing salvation as withheld from nine-tenths of the human family. My answer is, that all the gifts of God are gifts of grace; that men are by nature sinners, and have no claim, whatever, upon the justice of God; and that all his good acts towards his creatures are of undeserved favor. And let me tell him, that all the signs of the times indicate that the period spoken of in the Bible, when the light of the Gospel shall chase away all the clouds of error, when such a scene as this shall not be witnessed, and when a man shall not need to say to his neighbor, Know the Lord, for all shall know him, from the least to the greatest. God speed that glorious day, when infidels shall cast their gods of darkness to the moles and to the bats!

My friend paid me a compliment, last evening, which it gives me great happiness to reciprocate. It is said, that to quote from a man is the highest compliment possible. He brought to your notice a sentiment uttered in a lecture of mine, which had found its way to him: I have something here (the Doctor held up a book) which he may recognize:—

'But there are other facts which deserve observation. Many of the best men with whom I have had the happiness to be acquainted, have been great readers and great lovers of the Bible. Whether it was their attention to Bible teachings that made them good, or their goodness that led them to delight in Bible principles and influences, the result is equally in favor of the Bible. If the Bible made them good, then the Bible must be good in its tendency; and if it was their goodness that led them to delight in the Bible, there is an affinity between the Bible and goodness; they harmonize; therefore the Bible must be good in its character.

'I have further to observe, that I never knew *a bad, unprincipled man, a false and selfish man, a proud, a filthy, and malignant man, that did delight in the Bible. I have invariably found such characters despisers, neglecters or haters of the Bible.* I have known many profligate infidels, and they were all haters of the Bible. I have known many profligate priests, and they were the same. *Whether men be infidels or priests, if they are selfish, deceitful, proud or malignant, they are equally haters of the Bible.* There is this difference: the profligate infidel generally lets his hatred of the Bible appear, while the profligate priest labors to conceal his hatred of the Bible, that he may live and grow rich, by pretending to teach its principles. *But even infidels themselves pretend to love and revere the Bible sometimes, when its suits their interests;* and even priests allow their dread and their hatred of the Bible to appear at times. But, whether they conceal or avow their hatred of the Bible, *the profligate, the bad, whether priests or infidels, will still be found to be despisers or haters of the Bible.*

'I have had considerable acquaintance, both with infidels and priests, so that I have had good opportunities of learning the truth on this subject. I have especially had good opportunities of learning the truth with respect to priests. And I feel bound to declare, first, that I have, in general, found them *either the most ignorant, or the most wicked and malignant of men.* Some of them are exceedingly ignorant; they study nothing; they know nothing; they care for nothing, but just going through the drudgery required of them by their pay-masters, and securing their livings.'

My opponent has also undertaken to laud the French Revolution. Let us see what that revolution was. I will read you a passage in reference to it, from Scott's Life of Napoleon.

[The Doctor here read from Scott, a passage descriptive of the horrors practised at Lyons, Nantes, and other cities of France, when large numbers of men were bound together, or shut up in the holds of ships, and sunk in the stream, and the sacrifice was called republican baptism; and when a man and woman were tied together and thrown into a river, and the murder was called a republican marriage.]

My opponent said that he loved the family institution, when there is one wife and one husband living together in love for the term of their natural life; but is it not true that when you deny the Divine Authority of marriage, you strike a blow at the very foundation of that institution? If it has no other basis than the human law, then has it no dependence or stability. Men devise law for themselves, and can change it to suit themselves; what the laws make, they can unmake; what they enact, they can annul; and unless there is a sanction higher and greater than any human authority, there is no stability whatever for this institution. But I will read you another passage from Scott. [The Doctor had commenced reading, when his time expired. As he took his seat, there was long applause.]

Mr. Barker—(Hisses and applause.)—Scott was a Scotch tory, a reviler of the Covenanters, a bigoted enemy of all civil and religious reformers, and all his feelings were in harmony with his antediluvian politics. What is Allison's account of the same matters? He says that the horrors and atrocities of the French revolution proceeded from the fact, that the French people had been long debased by tyranny; had been, for centuries, ground into the dust by taskmasters; they had been used like brutes, and they acted like brutes when let loose. It would be easy to show, however, that the atrocities in question fade into insignificance when compared with those perpetrated under the believing *regime* of the kings. (Slight applause, and sounds of hush.) Let us learn from this the necessity of free discussion of all subjects, in order that revolutions, if they do come, shall be bloodless. If you wish men to feel the dignity of their manhood, and act with nobleness and moderation in a revolution, you must treat them like men before they get their liberty. (Applause.) Nor is this the only explanation of the horrors of that revolution. It must be remembered that all the despots of Europe were banded together against the liberal cause; that they not only had their armies upon the frontier, but sent their secret agents into France to foment intrigues, ripen dissensions, and entice to those bloody tragedies, thus aiming to disgrace the cause of liberty throughout the civilized word. They succeeded but too well. The same game was played during the last revolution. The kings of Europe, afraid to employ open force, used gold; and by plots, conspiracies, and artificial commission of excesses, secretly undermined the cause of the people, and prepared the way for the present despotism. No man who appreciates popular freedom should apologise for those despots and tyrants who are banded against the liberty of the world. (Applause.)

The Doctor says that I forget the rules of the debate. I have not forgotten them, but have followed them with the utmost scrupulosity.

He wishes me, when it shall be convenient to myself, to tell him the name of the God I worship. It will be convenient for me to tell him; after the present discussion is over. (Explosion of hisses, laughter, shouts.) If the Doctor wishes, I will tell him all I think or feel at that time.

[Immense explosion of shouts, bravos, hisses, sounds of h'sh; and Dr. Berg rose, and made a sign with his hand to the audience to be still. Mr. Barker took his seat. Rev. Mr. Chambers requested the meeting to keep order, that the discussion might proceed. Dr. Berg joined in the request. Renewed explosion.]

Let me add, that I will meet him in debate, if he wish, and discuss with him my views on the being of a God. (Slight applause, and cries of 'Good!') If eight nights are to be spent like the present one, they will barely suffice for the present discussion; and I do not wish to undertake two things at a time. (Slight applause.)

If the Bible be true, then the character of God is discoverable from the works of nature. In the passage I quoted, it is said that 'His eternal power and Godhead' may be 'understood by the things that are made.' Now the word Godhead is English, and Deity is the Latin equivalent; and the doctrine of that passage is, that the attributes of God may be discoverable by the light of nature. Those who hold the truth in unrighteousness are blamed because they forgot God while nature unfolded the truth to their eyes.

I hope I may be allowed one word on my relation to the institutions of this country. The Doctor says that there is this difference between us, that I came to sow sedition and upset the institutions whose benefit I enjoy.

I am unconscious of any such intention. I came to do nothing of the kind. (A whistle—laughter.) Since my arrival in this country, I have never uttered any thing against its institutions, unless slavery be one of them. In all cases, I have spoken my heartfelt admiration of the laws, customs, and political liberties enjoyed in the United States. In the only meeting on the subject of slavery which I have attended in this city, I was blamed by some for the apology I made for this country; nor am I conscious of any intention to introduce this subject into the debate, farther than to state and prove that the Bible upholds it. This I have a right to do, because I consider it one of the greatest of all crimes and immoralities. But, does Dr. Berg pretend that I am enjoying the benefits of slavery?

Dr. Berg—I did not say that.

Mr. Barker—I have wished that this country, excelling in so many things, should be free from this stain. The sun has spots upon his surface, but I have wished that the stars of this republic should have none. (Applause.)

In England, (cries of question, order,) I have spoken in public of this country as worthy of imitation, and I so spoke against kingship, that I was arrested by order of the Attorney-General. (Applause, and cries of question.) If you are satisfied, I am. But when a wrong impression has been given, and I can remove it in a few words, I think it my duty to do it.

The Doctor speaks of Homer's Iliad, and asks if I would reject that, because of the different readings of its five hundred manuscripts? I answer, No. I would not reject that. I would only treat it as a human composition. But if some old Greek should tell me that the book is of God, I should reject that idea. And when I find that the original manuscript of the Bible is lost, that the copies we have are contradictory, that there is no possibility of comparing them with the original, I must remain in doubt forever as to the right text; and I will not consider the book a Divine and perfect one. (Groans, and contemptuous laughter.)

The Doctor asked, how can I tell whether the passages I quote are not interpolations. I cannot tell. If they are, the book is human. If they are not, it teaches the grossest immoralities.

The Doctor tells us that the best proof is where we have substantial agreement with circumstantial variation. But how can we suppose a book is from God, when it contains substantial contradictions and substantial immorality of the grossest character? (Hisses in the audience.) Let him call me blasphemer, if he please; he is at liberty to do so. But it is not I who impugn the character of Deity. I speak in vindication of his attributes, and it is the book that impugns it. [Applause.] The Doctor says that I maintained that the Bible made the Jews corrupt. I did not. What I said was from written notes, which I have here. The Doctor said, Look, how dark and depraved the people have been who have had no Bible! I said, Look, how dark and depraved the people have been who have had the Bible! There is not one word about the Bible having made them corrupt.

The Doctor says that all God's gifts are gifts of grace. Is it grace to love one and hate another? I called it cruelty and injustice to save one, and condemn all the rest to the eternal wrath of God; to let the sinner escape, and damn the whole nation.

The Doctor hopes that the day is coming when Christianity shall cover the whole earth. But Bishop Campbell, and also Mr. Stephen Colwell, of your city, say that it is losing, instead of gaining, ground. But, let both sides be plainly spoken, and freely uttered. Let the mightiest triumph, and I shall be content.

In a former speech, I said that I had seen Christians die full of horror. I take pleasure in now adding, that among readers of the Bible, I have known some of the most noble, most beautiful, most brave, and most holy persons with whom it has been my lot to meet. As to the quotation he made from my writings, I repeat, that at the time I wrote that, I was under the dominion of the law, and had no fellowship with unbelievers. I had been taught by my parents, spiritual pastors, and my whole education, to believe in the natural depravity of man, and that every unbeliever was a bad man, though he appeared the most philanthropic in the neighborhood; and that the more fair he was outwardly, the more depraved he was inwardly; and that the more beautiful his character, the more consummate his hypocrisy. Every word that I wrote then, I now retract. If I did not now bear testimony to the truth, it would be to disclaim those oracles which God has written in our hearts, and which are echoed and reëchoed from every part of God's vocal creation. [Applause.]

The Doctor says that I deny the Divine authority of the family institution, and that my principles undermine its purity. Did I not say that the form of marriage was of Divine origin, where one man and one woman lived together in love and honor, and nurtured their children for the duties of life and immortality? I repeat it now. And did I not specify the forms to which I objected? Did I not say that those objectionable forms were sanctioned by the Bible?

They are, when one man has many wives, as Abraham, David, and Solomon; or when one woman has many husbands; or when the man is master, and the woman a slave.

The Bible has two different accounts of the creation. The first account is, that the lower animals were created first, and then man and woman. The second account is, that man was created first; then the lower animals, and last of all, woman. And here I may remark, that there are several names given to Deity in Genesis. These and other marks show that Genesis is a compilation from several ancient and contradictory records, and is not a uniform book proceeding from one author.

The Doctor said that the curse pronounced on the serpent received collateral proof in the universal abhorrence with which that animal is regarded. I do not know that that horror is universal. It is not true that there is special enmity felt by children rightly brought up towards them. At any rate, was it just to curse the whole race of serpents, through all time, because, six thousand years ago, one serpent did wrong?

I will read the passage:—

'And the Lord God said unto the serpent: Because thou has done this, thou art cursed above all cattle.'

Is the serpent cursed above all cattle?

'And every beast of the field. Upon thy belly shalt thou go.'

The serpent is not the only animal that goes upon its belly.

'And dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life.'

Now the serpent will not eat dust at all.

'Unto the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children, and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee.'

Are all women from one end of the globe to the other thus to be cursed, because one woman did wrong? Is every woman to be a subject, and every man a lord, because of the act of Eve?

'And unto Adam he said: Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree of which I commanded thee, saying, thou shalt not eat of it; cursed is the ground for thy sake: in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life.'

Is this so? Do all men eat in sorrow? Cannot a man, if he act wisely, eat the fruits of his labor in peace and joy?

'Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field. In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.'

Science tells us that thorns and thistles existed countless ages before the date assigned to this curse; and is it true that all men eat their bread in the sweat of their face? Do not some gain it more easily than others, and some even without working at all? And is it not abhorrent to our feelings to attribute to God this curse of death upon all men, because one did wrong? If the God of the Bible is shown to be guilty of such an abuse of power, it is time for another revelation and another faith.

I will now briefly recur to the subject of the Deluge

We are told that, on account of the wickedness of men, God resolved to destroy them all, little and big, and all the cattle, except one family, and pairs and sevens of the lower animals. The ark in which these were to be saved was to be about 150 yards long, 25 yards wide, 15 high, divided into three stories; and it was to hold eight persons, and about 500,000 of the lower animals. There was but one door, and one window, and that was shut. [Cries of time up. Mr. Barker took his seat, the audience maintaining silence.]

Dr. Berg. If I did injustice to my opponent in mentioning the difference between us, I am sorry for it. I am glad to find that he loves the institutions of this country. I am glad to find that he has no intention to introduce the obnoxious topic to which I alluded. I wished to forestal such an intention, as I had heard of it from various quarters.

My opponent said, that the strong language used by him in his little book was the result of his prejudice against the infidels.

Mr. Barker—I stated that I had received a strictly religious training from my parents, and therefore I could not regard infidels impartially. I did not know facts enough to justify these conclusions.

Dr. Berg—I am willing to take the word of my opponent—either now or then, if he will tell me which to take. His statements conflict. In his book, he speaks of having a considerable acquaintance with infidels. If he speaks the truth now, he was in error then. If he spoke it then, he is much in error now. [Loud laughter and applause.]

My opponent declines telling me the name of his God, and furnishing answers to other questions, until the eight evenings for which I am engaged to him for this discussion shall have expired. If he will not tell us in advance, we will probably not hear it at all. It is not likely that, after this debate, I will wish to trouble an audience with a controversy with Mr. Barker, for, from present indications, there will be very little left of him by that time. (Vociferous applause.) There is one subject I wish to introduce, which may be grateful to this audience, because it will give diversity to the train of thought now uppermost. Mr. Barker said he had seen infidels die calmly and composedly; because for them eternity had no fears, and that he had seen Christians die full of horror, because they had been taught to regard God as malignant. No such thing. The Christian's God is a God of love, a reconciled Father, ready to forgive his children, and afford them an abundant entrance into glory. Only out of Christ is he a consuming fire. But he is all mercy to those who rejoice in the Mediator.

I will now show you, out of my opponent's mouth, how dark infidelity is. He has told us that there is no remission of sin; that no man who has sinned can expect to be forgiven; that there is no escape in this world or the next. For infidels, there is no Savior, but they must live, always looking forward to fearful retribution. He has seen infidels die happy. His experience is altogether different from that of all others. I never saw one of these bold blasphemers die, and I hope I never may. The records of such scenes are so full of horror, that they overwhelm with dread. I will give you one or two instances, to which I ask your solemn attention.

I have seen many Christians die, but I never saw one die in horror. They all testified to the consolations of the Bible. There are some men in our city, who extol Thomas Paine. They want a new revelation, and Thomas Paine gave his followers a Bible. They cherish it now. But hear the manner of his death. I quote from an eye-witness:—

HIS CLOSING SCENE.

'I was called upon by accident to visit Mr. Paine, on the 25th of February last, and found him indisposed with fever, and very apprehensive of an attack of apoplexy, as he stated that he had had that disease before, and at this time felt a great degree of vertigo, and was unable to help himself, as he had hitherto done, on account of an intense pain above the eyes.

'Concerning his conduct during his disease, I have not much to remark; though the little I have may be somewhat interesting.

'Mr. Paine professed to be above the fear of death, and a great portion of his conversation was principally directed to give the impression, that he was perfectly willing to leave this world, and yet some parts of his conduct are with difficulty reconcileable with this belief. In the first stage of his illness, he was satisfied to be left alone during the day, but he required some person to be with him at night, urging as his reason, that he was afraid that he should die, when unattended; and at this period, his deportment and his principle seemed to be consistent; so much so, that a stranger would judge, from some of the remarks he made, that he was an infidel. I recollect being with him at night, watching; he was very apprehensive of a speedy dissolution, and suffered great distress of body, and perhaps of mind, (for he was waiting the event of an application to the Society of Friends, for permission that his corpse might be deposited in their grave-ground, and had reason to belive that the request might be refused,) when he remarked in these words, 'I think I can say what *they* make Jesus to say—My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me!' He went on to observe on the want of that respect which he conceived he merited. I remarked to him that I thought that his corpse should be a matter of least concern to him; that those whom he left behind him would see that he was properly interred; and, further, that it would be of little consequence to *me* where I was deposited, provided that I was buried: upon which he answered, that he had nothing else to talk about, and that he would as lieve talk of his death as any thing, but that he was not so indifferent about his corpse as I appeared to be. During the latter part of his life, though his conversation was equivocal, his conduct was more so; *he would not be left alone night or day;* he not only required to have some person with him, but he must see that he or she was there, and would not allow his curtain to be closed at any time; *and if,* as it would sometimes unavoidably happen, *he was left alone, he would scream and halloo until some person came to him;* when relief from pain would admit, he seemed thoughtful and contemplative, his eyes being generally closed, and his hands folded upon his breast, although he never slept without the influence of anodyne.

'There was something remarkable in his conduct about this period (which comprises the fortnight immediately preceding his death,) particularly when we reflect that Thomas Paine was author of the 'Age of Reason.' He would call out, during his paroxysms of distress, without intermission, 'O Lord, help me! God, help me! Jesus Christ, help me! O Lord, help me!' repeating the same expressions without any the least variation, *in a tone of voice that would alarm the house.* These exclamations induced me to think that he had abandoned his former opinions; and I was more inclined to this opinion, when I understood from his nurse (who was a very serious, and I believe pious woman,) that he would occasionally inquire, when he saw her engaged with a book, what she was reading, and being answered, and at the same time asked whether she should read aloud,* he assented, and would appear to give particular attention.

'I took occasion, during the night of the 5th and 6th of June, to test the strength of his opinions respecting revelation. I purposely made him a very late visit; it was a time which seemed to suit my errand; it was midnight; he was in great distress, constantly exclaiming in the words above mentioned; when, after considerable preface, I addressed him in the following manner, the nurse being present:—

'Mr. Paine, your opinions, by a large portion of the community, have been treated with deference; you have never been in the habit of mixing in your conversation words of coarse meaning; you have never indulged in the practice of profane swearing; you must be sensible that we are acquainted with your religious opinions, as they are given to the world; what must we think of your *present* conduct? Why do you call upon *Jesus Christ* to help you? Do you believe that he can help you? Do you believe in the divinity of Jesus Christ? Come, now, answer me honestly; I want an answer as from the lips of a dying man, for I verily believe that you will not live twenty-four hours.' I paused sometime at the end of every question; he did not answer, but ceased to exclaim in the above manner. Again I addressed him: 'Mr. Paine, you have not answered my questions—will you not answer them? Allow me to ask again, do you believe, or—let me qualify the question—do you wish to believe, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God? After a pause of some minutes, he answered: '*I have no wish to* BELIEVE *on that subject.*' I then left him, and know not whether he afterwards spoke to any person on any subject, though he lived, as I before observed, a few hours longer; in fact, till the morning of the 8th.

'Exclusive of Mr. Hicks, the Rev. Mr. Milledollar, the Rev. Mr. Cunningham, and one or two other gentlemen who visited him from humane and Christian motives, he was abandoned on his death-bed, except by a few obscure and illiterate men, his former bottle companions, who attended him merely, it should seem, to urge him to preserve to the end in his deistical opinions. What his admissions would have been during those 'compunctious visitings of nature,' but for the 'whips and spurs' of those persons, we cannot even conjecture.'

In another part of this volume, I find the record of the death of Francis Newport.

[The Doctor here read the account. We have been unable to obtain it. The most striking passage in it was the exclamation of Newport on his death-bed: 'Oh! that God would cease to be!' 'I wish there was a possibility of getting over God!' I endure more than damned spirits!']

Now, here are passages which accord with the facts of universal experience. Infidels are hardened when in prosperity, but when they are near death, the latent fire of conscience is aroused, and, spite of their pride, they call on Christ for mercy.

My opponent says that the family institution, which he loves, is of Divine authority. I respectfully ask him how God has revealed it to him. He begins now to see that some other foundation than human authority is necessary. Now, if the God of the Bible has established the family institution, the authority is there. We find that Adam and Noah had but one wife; that the moral government of God is throughout consistent, and that God never yet revealed that polygamy was right. It is inconsistent with every moral statute. I will add, that God sometimes permits men to be convinced of the evil of certain institutions, for the purposes of moral discipline. My opponent insists that it is my duty to answer what he says of the case of II. Samuel, xxi. The Gibeonites said to David that they would have neither silver nor gold, neither for them should any man in Israel be killed.

[Here the Doctor read the passage, for which, see previous report.]

But they demanded that seven men of the sons of Saul should be delivered to them. This was done, and they were hanged. The reason of this punishment was, that the children of Israel had sworn to protect the Gibeonites, who, notwithstanding this oath, were slain by Saul.

This only shows that God punishes murder. When murder has been committed, God holds the land responsible for the innocent blood shed.

It appears that Saul had not only violated the pledge of the princes of Israel, but had massacred a defenceless tribe.

The blood of the Gibeonites cried to heaven for vengeance. The punishment was retribution, not cruelty; and if there is one word infidels would blot out of the Bible, it is retribution. But the children of Saul were hanged for his sin; and my opponent asks me—will God punish children for the offences of their parents? Yes; for he has said so; and mortal man cannot define all his ways. He is sovereign, holy, and can do with us as he sees fit. On the same principle, we find that if a man will degrade himself by drunkenness, his children will pay the penalty; if he has diseased his body by licentiousness, his offspring will pay the penalty. There are enigmas we cannot solve, but the facts are analogous. We cannot make every thing in this world square with our ideas, and imagine that we know all that is in the world.

And here let me bring to your attention a beautiful illustration of infidel pity. It is in the shape of an anonymous letter. The friends of Mr. Barker, not content with the atrocities they find in the Bible, find some in modern times to excite their compassion. I do not like anonymous letters, but I have no other than good feeling towards its author. It would have been, perhaps, more manly, to put his name to his production; but I will do it the honor to read it:

'Tuesday.

Rev. Sir—Returning home from the discussion last evening, and reflecting upon the dreadful exhibition of the acts of the children of Israel, as ordered or sanctioned by the Almighty, my mind was turned to a modern instance, which might furnish a parallel to some of those atrocities. Allow me the liberty of stating the facts.

A few months ago only, three or four men went into the humble lodgings of a poor man, depressed to the earth with anxious days and sleepless nights, and, in spite of his piteous remonstrances, tied his hands behind his back, led him into the back yard, and, passing a rope round his neck, deliberately strangled him to death. Strange to add, there were some hundreds of spectators present, not one of whom ventured to interfere; and, to crown all, a minister of the gospel stood up and made a prayer!

The unfortunate victim of violence left a widow and an orphan boy to bewail their loss. The ringleader in this atrocious deed was Sheriff Allen, (movement in audience,) who pretended that he acted by warrant of the Governor. The name of the murdered man was Arthur Spring.' (Explosion of laughter, shouts and applause.)

Here is a pretty sample of manufactured infidel pity! 'The murdered man was Arthur Spring.' Poor Spring! innocent creature that he was! his hands bound behind him, the rope around his neck, is the object of sympathetic regard. I pity him, too; but will you blot out retribution? Should pity be exhausted on the infamous murderer, and not a single emotion be given to the poor women whom his ruthless hand had sent to their long account, whose throats he had, at the solemn hour of midnight, cut from ear to ear? Away with such pity, pleading impunity for crime! We owe no pity to those whose lives are forfeited to the violated laws of God and man. But my opponent tells us that he needs no divine revelation, because man has a law within himself,—has an inner light to guide him. But suppose this light turns out to be darkness, what then! [Loud applause and laughter.] Suppose they put that light out; there is no more light in the world, no law, no love, no transgressions. A man may destroy his conscience, and what then? The pirate has his light too, within himself. His conscience is, that there is no harm in murdering to get money. If my opponent can get along with a light so flickering, I wish him well of it.

My opponent has much to say of the revelations of nature. But if these will account for the introduction of death into the world, I will thank him to show it. The Bible is the only revelation that teaches anything about this, and many similar subjects which, without it, are enigmas.

My opponent brings up again to-night a number of objections which I thought I had answered. If he continues this course, it is evident there can be no end to the discussion. I do not like what he says, nor he what I say, and the better way, after stating what we think, is to leave the decision to the intelligence of the audience. He speaks again of God's having rested, and says, that to speak of God as if he had a body, conveys a false impression. Has he not read the beautiful words of Isaiah? 'Hast thou not known, hast thou not heard, that the everlasting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary?'—Is. xl. 28. (General applause.) Does not my opponent himself stand here a living witness that the passages on which he comments are not to be understood literally? He spoke again of Ahab and the lying spirits. I have shown you—[Here the time expired. Long and general applause.]

(To be continued.)